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No 1

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COVER

The entrance to the Princess Theater in November, 1909.

Picture by courtesy of Raymond S. Hill.

THE PRINCESS THEATER OF DES MOINES

*By Raymond S. Hill**

The electric sign over the marquee now reads MOOSE instead of PRINCESS, but to hundreds of loyal theatergoers of yesterday the building will always be the home of the "Incomparable Princess Players." Born in the day of the horseless carriage, the Princess rapidly established itself as a center of recreational and cultural activity. Many residents of Des Moines and its surrounding territory still recall with pleasure the days when such now famous players as Fay Bainter, Conrad Nagel, and Ralph Bellamy trod the local boards. For them the weekly visit to the Princess was looked forward to eagerly.

The story of the Princess Theater is the story of its first managers, Benjamin F. Elbert and John A. Getchell. For fourteen years the marquee proclamation, "Elbert and Getchell present the Incomparable Princess Players," was a guarantee of top-notch entertainment. The foresight and initiative of these two men established the group; their good taste, business acumen, and energy made it one of the nation's leading stock organizations, a position it maintained throughout the entire period of their managership.

Though himself a banker's son, Benjamin F. "Kip" Elbert left the business end of the concern to his partner and took upon himself the handling of the purely theatrical aspects such as the selection of plays, players, and backstage personnel. This he felt qualified to do. He had pioneered in the theater business shortly after his graduation from Princeton by opening Omaha's first motion picture house. He and John A. "Jack" Getchell were about thirty when they went into partnership as co-owners of a penny arcade at Sixth and Mulberry streets in downtown Des Moines.¹ Getchell was the grandson of Henry F. Getchell who emigrated to Des Moines from Maine in 1861 and founded the city's first lumberyard, an enterprise which shortly expanded to a chain of yards covering the state. The Getchells were a civic-conscious family; John's father, Charles Henry Getchell, was

*This article is a condensation of a master's thesis written by Mr. Hill in the Department of Fine Arts at the State University of Iowa, 1949.

¹ Interview with B. F. Elbert, Des Moines, Iowa, Nov. 20, 1948.

one of the founders of the Des Moines Public Library.² John undoubtedly inherited this sense of civic pride, and it played an important role in many decisions made about the building and operation of the Princess.

The penny arcade proved to be a profitable enterprise — so profitable, in fact, that Getchell's daughter years later remembered her father telling that the day's receipts were counted each evening simply by weighing the pennies in buckets. Caught up by the lure of the entertainment world, the two young men, in 1905, undertook a new venture. On the site where the penny arcade had stood, they opened the Nickeldome, the first theater in Iowa and the fifth in the entire country devoted exclusively to the showing of motion pictures. This also reaped a healthy profit, and they soon invested further in the entertainment business with the opening of the Unique, a vaudeville theater.³

The Princess actually grew out of an experiment conducted at the Nickeldome during the 1906-1907 season. The partners hired a small group of actors to serve as a miniature stock company, presenting one-act plays as added attractions to the films. So successful was this endeavor that the young promoters began toying with the idea of founding a full-fledged resident stock company.⁴ The local theater situation was looked into, and the two decided that Des Moines was ripe for such a project. No building then available suited their purpose, so, in 1908, an arrangement was made with Oscar Lofquist whereby the latter was to erect a theater to specifications prescribed by Elbert and Getchell.

Before an architect was commissioned, Elbert spent several months touring the country and inspecting the better theaters. Not only did he look over the buildings themselves, but he also carried on extensive interviews with owners and builders in order to learn at first hand every advantage possible in construction, and also to ascertain where improvements in construction could be effected.

Fourth Street between Locust and Walnut was the site chosen for the new theater because all interurban lines and many of the local street car lines passed there, thus making it readily accessible to the majority of the community and the surrounding territory as well. The first brick was set

² Johnson Brigham, *Des Moines . . . Together with the History of Polk County, Iowa . . .* (2 vols., Chicago, 1911), 2:159.

³ Edgar Rubey Harlan, *A Narrative History of the People of Iowa . . .* (5 vols., Chicago, 1931), 3:407.

⁴ Interview with B. F. Elbert, Des Moines, Nov. 20, 1948.

in place on July 20, 1909.⁵ For three months a force of nearly a hundred men worked to complete the edifice before the scheduled November opening. As the date approached, some doubts began to form as to whether or not the building would be ready on time. When the morning of the premiere dawned much remained to be done, but Elbert and Getchell resolved to open as announced. Extra workmen were put on the job, and the greater part of the work was completed.

About eight o'clock, on November 1, 1909, the crowds began to gather, and at eight-thirty the curtain rose on the first act of Channing Pollock's *Clothes*. It was a gala event, and the play and players were warmly received by a capacity audience whose enthusiasm was not the least bit cooled by the fact that the heating plant had not as yet been installed, that benches had been substituted for the seats which had failed to arrive in time, and that many other seats remained unfastened to the floor.⁶

The press the following day was unanimous in its praise of the theater, the players, the play, the managers, and everyone concerned with the new undertaking. The *News* devoted a part of its editorial page to the event, predicting "a generous patronage" for the Princess, and the *Capital* and the *Tribune* added their praises. The civic-conscious *Register and Leader* was pleasantly surprised, "because out here in the provinces we have fallen into the habit of not expecting to have too much for us when we wish to be entertained and it rather takes our breath away when we are graciously given more than we thought we could ask." But the local papers were not alone in praising the new company. In its first November issue, the *New York Dramatic Mirror* wrote of the Princess group: "The company . . . is one of the strongest ever recruited."⁷

That the company's maiden efforts surpassed in quality the work of established groups is indicated by a letter received by *The Princess Bulletin* from D. Stewart Hampton of Philadelphia, who wrote: "I saw your production of 'Clothes' and it was wonderful. I also saw a stock company in Philadelphia play 'Clothes' but nothing like the Princess."⁸ The success of the players' first production becomes even more noteworthy when one

⁵ *The Princess Bulletin*, Nov. 1, 1909.

⁶ *Des Moines Tribune*, Feb. 19, 1933.

⁷ *Des Moines Daily News*, Nov. 2, 1909; *Des Moines Register and Leader*, Nov. 2, 1909; *Des Moines Capital*, Nov. 2, 6, 1909; *Des Moines Tribune*, Nov. 2, 1909.

⁸ *The Princess Bulletin*, Nov. 15, 1909.

recalls that, because of the unfinished state of the building, not a single dress rehearsal was possible.

The simplicity of *The Princess Bulletin* was a marked surprise to the playgoer accustomed to the advertisement-cluttered programs of the other theaters of the day. The *Bulletin* was originally a four-page, 8 x 11 inch publication, completely devoid of advertising matter other than a plain paragraph which pointed out that the furniture used on the stage was provided by the Chase and West Store. The first page usually carried a picture of some member of the company or staff with an accompanying biographical sketch. Page two featured the masthead, house notes, a diagram showing exits, and a column of news about the players called "Gossip of the Princess Green Room." On page three could be found the "Queries and Answers" column, letters to the management, and miscellaneous filler material. Page four always devoted itself to the program proper plus a paragraph or two describing the next week's show and an announcement of the entertainment fare to be found at other Elbert and Getchell theaters.

Each issue of the *Bulletin* prominently stated: "The Princess caters to those who appreciate the highest type of plays presented in the best manner in a playhouse worthy of the name and at prices that are within the reach of all." Elbert and Getchell made every effort to adhere to these purposes. Elbert attempted to see all important New York productions, or at least to familiarize himself with available play material through reading. Many factors were taken into consideration before final decisions were made, and on occasion even the final selections were changed, as in the case of *The Clansman* which was announced as part of the 1910-1911 schedule of plays. So many and so violent were the letters of objection received by the management that the play was withdrawn and a less controversial one substituted.⁹

The public's pleasure was the prime factor considered in play selection, and every precaution was taken to offend no one. The fact that attendance at the Princess became in so many cases a family affair to some extent proves the theater's success in adhering to this policy. According to Elbert, the making of money was not always a determining factor in selection. He lays claim to having deliberately put on some "high brow" shows as "prestige builders" even though he knew they would be losers at the box office. As examples he cites Shakespeare's *The Taming of the Shrew* and a drama-

⁹ Des Moines *Register and Leader*, Feb. 19, 1911.

tization of Thomas Hardy's *Jess of the D'Urbervilles*. However, the fact that *The Taming of the Shrew* was the only Shakespearean work ever offered by the Princess indicates that the classics were deliberately avoided as poor box office despite their "prestige building" power.

The "prices within the reach of all" clause in the statement of policy was most faithfully adhered to. The scale of prices for evening performances and Sunday and holiday matinees was: fifteen, twenty-five, thirty-five, fifty, and seventy-five cents. Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday matinee prices were twenty-five, thirty-five, and fifty cents. Throughout their managership, despite the fact that operating costs increased tremendously, Elbert and Getchell kept the top box office price down to the surprisingly low figure of only one dollar, part of which was government tax.

The theater building itself, built at a cost of \$75,000, was a superior structure both in beauty and utility.¹⁰ The front was of glazed white terracotta, a material selected because of its immunity to dirt. Though forty years have passed, the facade still retains the cool beauty of its marble whiteness. A canopy of glass set in an ornamental frame of verdigris copper projected over the white glass entrance to the lobby.

The interior of the theater, which seated 1,700, featured a number of innovations. For instance, instead of the orchestra boxes being placed on the floor level as was usually done, they were set eight feet above, thus not only giving the occupants a better view of the stage, but also affording uninterrupted vision to the seat holders on the extreme right and left of the orchestra floor. Another novelty was the use of wicker chairs in the boxes instead of the customary stuffy and garishly tinted upholstered chairs. The two steel pillars used to give the balcony additional support were the only uprights in the entire auditorium of the theater and were so arranged as not to interrupt the view of those sitting in their proximity.

The disastrous Iroquois Theater fire in Chicago some five years earlier had made the public extremely safety conscious, and every effort was made to make the Princess safe in this respect. The only wood used in the backstage structure was the three-inch stage floor. The walls were of brick, while the fly galleries, paint bridge, and gridiron were of heavy steel. The electrical switchboard was set in a brick and steel chamber above the stage, while the roof over the stage was of concrete with an extra large vent. The floor underneath the entire theater was of concrete. The asbestos curtain

¹⁰ *The Princess Bulletin*, Nov. 1, 1909; Brigham, *Des Moines . . .*, 1:412.

could be lowered in less than ten seconds. Nineteen exists, opening on all four sides of the theater, were provided.

The system of heating and ventilation was another important innovation. The furnace and boiler were situated in an enclosed room with walls of brick, floor and ceiling of concrete, and door of steel. Large fans pumped the outdoor air into the room through which steam coils passed. The air was heated and sent into the auditorium through vent ducts. In summer the same ventilating plant was utilized to make the Princess one of the first air-conditioned theaters. A huge supply of ice replaced the steam coils, and the outdoor air was thus cooled before being sent into the auditorium.

The comfort of the company was insured by the sixteen good-sized dressing rooms located in the basement. In the northwest corner of the basement was the Green Room with a red tiled floor covered with rugs, and with walls decorated with pictures of members of the company. Here much of the rehearsing was done.

The fact that Elbert was such a demanding employer accounts in a great measure for the high standard of production and the outstanding reputation maintained by the Princess while he was at the helm.¹¹ It was his custom to spend two months of each year traveling about the country looking for new talent. During this time he visited all the major stock companies and many less well-established groups. He made it a practice to see a performer twice before making any decisions concerning him; in this way he could ascertain whether an actor maintained a high standard of acting throughout the run of a play. To assure himself that the presence of a prospective employer was not causing the actor to put on a better show than was his usual wont, Elbert endeavored to keep his presence in the theater unknown to both actors and managers.

Sincerity was an absolute essential before an actor would even be considered for the Princess. Elbert demanded that each characterization ring true and that an actor remain in character at all times while on stage. "Mugging" and playing to the audience were cardinal sins as far as he was concerned. It was his belief that each performance should be the best the actor was capable of giving. Under no circumstances was a Princess player permitted merely to walk through a play as so often happened in even the better-known stock organizations of the day. To keep his policies

¹¹ Information on his system of selecting players was given the author by B. F. Elbert in a personal interview on Nov. 20, 1948.

always in the players' minds, Elbert had Hamlet's advice to the players painted on the Green Room wall.

A good personal reputation was another major prerequisite to membership in the Princess company. A study of pictures of members of the company reveals a remarkable collection of extremely conservative poses in a period when sensational poses were the rule rather than the exception among theater personalities. From the number of married couples employed during the first season, one is led to suspect that Elbert went out of his way to insure the respectability of the company by this means.

The star system was purposely avoided. The accent was placed upon a high quality of over-all production rather than upon the exploitation of a single individual. Elbert himself did the casting. In his own words, "A director can't be trusted to do the casting. He is bound to play favorites." Though the standard practice of stock casting was in general adhered to, Elbert often assigned the second woman to play the lead if the part suited her better than it did the leading woman, and he acted similarly with other members of the company. In most companies the director served as actor, too, but the Princess director was permitted to act in only the last production of the season. This gave him his full time to devote to direction alone.

Elbert at first found it difficult to persuade players of the caliber he desired to risk their careers with an infant company, but he refused to compromise his standards, and within a few years even well-established actors were eager to associate themselves with the Princess. The company for the opening season consisted of sixteen people, an unusually large number, as most stock companies usually consisted of ten or less permanent members.¹² Even more remarkable than the size of the original company was the amazing amount of background and experience of its members.

Frederic Sullivan, the director, a native of England, had come to the United States when only eleven years of age. He had had wide experience in cities throughout the country before coming to the Princess. The first leading lady was Elfreda Lasche, a Milwaukee girl whose first theatrical experience had been with the Tannhauser Stock Company of that city. She had played in Boston, Toronto, and Worcester, Massachusetts, before Elbert signed her up. Leading man Harry Ingram came to the Princess with some ten years of stage experience behind him. Emma Salvatore, the second woman in the cast, was the wife of the company's principal come-

¹² *Ibid.*

dian, Thomas Reynolds. The second man, William Townshend, had supported Mary Shaw in *Ghosts* and *Hedda Gabbler* and Alberta Gallatin in a Shakespearean repertory, in addition to doing stock work in various eastern cities. A mother-son team also was part of the Princess company: character woman Eleanor Carey and her son, Carey Livingston, who became the company juvenile. Character man Aldrich Bowker had over five hundred different roles to his credit before joining the Princess Players. Much was made of the Philadelphia society background in publicity released on ingenue Margaret Lawrence, whose experience prior to signing with the Princess consisted of but twenty weeks at Keith's in Portland, Maine. The wife of Director Sullivan, Katherine Webb, often took over small roles, and Mrs. William Townshend played occasional roles under the name Edith Gordon. Juvenile comedian Walter Poulter, assistant dramatic director Richard Somerville, general business manager Bruce Elmore, and character man Mr. Sambrook completed the company. Two replacements occurred during the first season: Margaret Lawrence, who left to meet a previously arranged summer stock engagement, was replaced by Bertha Van Norman; and W. H. Townshend, who also left to fulfill another engagement, was replaced by Mr. Randall.¹³

The Princess orchestra was an added attractive feature. Elbert was convinced that an orchestra was essential to any theater, as it could create an atmosphere and mood impossible to obtain by any other means. The six-piece orchestra which provided this atmosphere during the first season remained invisible to the audience, hidden by a netting of artificial autumn leaves over the orchestra pit. The six members of this initial musical group were Professor Michael Angelo Abbotti, violinist and director; Mae McCarty, pianist; Claude E. Pickett, clarinet; J. H. Grill, cornet; J. E. Martin, trombone; and C. E. Shaw, bass.¹⁴ No effort appears to have been made to relate the musical program to the particular play being offered; variety seems to have been the major distinguishing characteristic. A single day's program was likely to include such diverse types as Chopin, Sousa, Mendelssohn, and Joe Howard.

The first Princess season was indeed a remarkable one. The theater's success was immediately apparent. The drama-hungry citizens of Des

¹³ *The Princess Bulletin* from Nov. 8, 1909, through April 18, 1910, gives brief sketches of each of these players.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Nov. 15, 1909.

Moines found the capably produced efforts of their own resident company a far more satisfactory diet than that of the often second-rate companies which played the local road show houses, and the Princess soon became an integral part of the community's social and cultural life. No one quarrelled when, five weeks after the opening, advertisements for the first time referred to the "Incomparable Princess Players," a trade name which lived for fifteen consecutive seasons.

The success of that first season was due to a combination of factors. The novelty of a new playhouse and of a resident company undoubtedly contributed much, but the fact that good business persisted suggests that other reasons were more important. Among major contributors were the variety and merit of the plays offered. The reader perusing the list of twenty-seven plays presented cannot but be impressed. The number of them which, forty years later, still strikes a responsive chord in the mind of anyone at all versed in American theater history is truly amazing. The names of but a portion of the dramatists represented form a most impressive roll — William Vaughn Moody, Henry Miller, Charles Klein, Charles H. Hoyt, David Belasco, J. Hartley Manners, William G. De Mille, H. A. Du Souchet, Augustus Thomas, William Gillette, Brandon Thomas, Paul Armstrong, Denman Thompson, and Channing Pollock.

A new play was presented each of the twenty-seven weeks of the season, Channing Pollock's society satire, *Clothes*, leading the way. Farce proved most popular with seven representatives: *Mrs. Temple's Telegram*, *Glittering Gloria*, *A Bachelor's Honeymoon*, *Charley's Aunt*, *A Contented Woman*, and the two William Collier vehicle pieces, *The Man From Mexico* and *Mr. Smooth*. Next in popularity was romantic costume drama represented by five productions: *Heartsease*, *Dorothy Vernon of Haddon Hall*, *Alice of Old Vincennes*, and the two Belasco hits, *The Warrens of Virginia* and *Rose of the Rancho*. *The Great Divide* and *Zira* were the only two serious dramatic works, but melodrama claimed four varied representatives in *Salomy Jane*, *The Spoilers*, *Raffles*, and *Sherlock Holmes*. The comedies were: *The Other Girl*, *Brown of Harvard*, a college comedy; *When We Were 21*, *The Marriage of Kitty*, a translation from the French; and *The Road to Yesterday*, a fantasy. Two rural dramas, Denman Thompson's *Our New Minister* and the Nat Goodwin vehicle, *An American Citizen*, complete the record.

The letters received by the management indicate the high esteem with

which the plays, players, and playhouse were regarded. Many of these letters were printed in the weekly *Bulletin*. All the correspondence was not friendly, however. An amusing example of a letter of criticism and the theater's efforts to offend no one appeared in the December 13, 1909, *Bulletin*. A patron wrote that she could not "consistently attend your theater since seeing 'The Man From Mexico' because of the amount of liquor used by Mr. Ingram during the performance." She had been told, she added, that it was not "real" liquor and asked for reassurance. The *Bulletin* assured her that "'Prop' whiskey is very much like 'hot air,' it doesn't do anybody any harm," and suggested that she call at the stage door some evening and sample the ginger ale which Mr. Ingram used so freely.¹⁵

The use of local talent to supplement the permanent personnel was an early practice which gave the Princess some of the aspects of a community theater. For the production of Rida Johnson Young's *Brown of Harvard* the quartette of the Drake Glee Club provided college atmosphere, while in *Alice of Old Vincennes* Drake students and soldiers from Fort Des Moines appeared as members of the Continental Army.¹⁶

The Princess was not Des Moines's sole source of entertainment, however. Eight other local theaters were presenting live entertainment — the Majestic, Unique, Star, and Lyric featured vaudeville; and the Auditorium, Grand, Empire, and Foster's presented road shows of varying degrees of merit. During the week that the Princess Players opened with Pollock's *Clothes*, the Des Moines public had opportunities to see *Going Some* by Rex Beach and Paul Armstrong at the Auditorium, Sue Marshall in *The Cowboy Girl* at the Grand, the Dainty Duchess Burlesquers at the Empire, and the Cohan and Harris Minstrels at Foster's. During the course of that 1909-1910 season they were to have further opportunities to witness such outstanding road attractions as Dustin Farnum in *Cameo Kirby*, Victor Herbert's *Babes in Toyland*, Max Figman in *The Man on the Box*, Trixie Friganza, and many others. In addition to all this, there were the offerings of the four motion picture houses. Despite competition, however, the Princess flourished, and in March of 1910 the *New York Dramatic News* wrote:

Des Moines, Iowa, has been able to retain a stock company at

¹⁵ For several letters from patrons, see *ibid.*, Nov. 29, Dec. 13, 20, 1909; Jan. 24, Feb. 7, 1910.

¹⁶ Des Moines *Register and Leader*, Feb. 7, Mar. 30, 1910.

the Princess Theatre for many weeks with a healthy increase in patronage, and some of the best stock plays on view. This is more than can be said of several cities larger in population than Des Moines, for there are several important centers where the stock companies have been on the verge of starvation.¹⁷

The most important event of the second season was the arrival of the new director, Priestly Morrison, who was to remain with the Princess Players for six years, and to become a vital, moving force. Mr. Morrison must share with Elbert and Getchell much of the credit for the high national reputation of the Princess.

Dramatic highlight of the 1910-1911 season was the first Princess presentation of David Belasco's epic western, *The Girl of the Golden West*. So popular did the play prove that it won the distinction of being the first Princess production and, in fact, the first theatrical attraction in Des Moines to be held over for a second week. *The Girl of the Golden West* was to be revived season after season.

The first four seasons were all critical and financial successes, but the fifth season must go into the records as one of Elbert and Getchell's rare failures. Misled by the degree of popularity enjoyed by three musical comedies of the previous Princess season, the managers decided to present an entire season of operetta and musical comedy. It was a risky undertaking. Seventeen principals were hired, a chorus of sixteen girls and eight men was maintained, and the orchestra was increased to twelve pieces. Even with an advance in prices, the overhead was too much to enable the project to function at a profit and the experiment perished after only eight weeks of life. The increased salary roster, more expensive royalties, and higher costume costs were all contributing factors to the rapid demise of the endeavor. Elbert estimates that year's losses as close to \$20,000.

When it was announced that the Princess would reopen its doors August 23, 1914, with a return to its original policy of dramatic stock, the offices of Elbert and Getchell were besieged with commendatory communications lauding their intentions. Any doubts which the previous season's failure might have fostered in the partners' minds soon vanished before this flood of good wishes, and they did all within their power to merit the confidence the Princess' loyal public had voiced.

The first *Bulletin* of the new season boasted:

Realizing the high standard established by former Princess com-

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Mar. 25, 1910.

panies, Elbert and Getchell were determined that the precedent, in the personnel of the company and in the quality of the productions, should be closely adhered to this year. As a result they have secured what is undoubtedly the best stock organization in America, superior to any that has ever been seen at the Princess — and that is saying much.

This was no idle boast; no expense had been spared to bring together the best company possible, and the resulting season was one to be remembered.

To old-timers this 1914-1915 season is the year Fay Bainter joined the company. No other leading lady won so much fanatic adulation as did Miss Bainter during her two-year association with the Princess Players. Even today, the names of Fay Bainter and the Princess Theater are inseparable in the minds of many who remember the theater in its heyday. Though only nineteen years old when she joined the company, she had already made a name for herself in theatrical circles as the lead in the musical, *The Rose of Panama*, and as leading woman on tour with Mrs. Fiske. In order to secure her services, the management had offered her the fabulous salary of three hundred dollars a week, thus making her the highest-paid leading lady in American stock.¹⁸

Two then unknown players whose names adorned the 1914-1915 programs have since won fame on both stage and screen. Charles D. Brown, the general business manager, is today one of Hollywood's busiest character actors, and Conrad Nagel, a Des Moines high school youngster then making his stage debut in bit roles, is now a well-known figure on stage, screen, radio, and television.

Musical comedy was conspicuous by its absence during this season. Only *Mam'zelle*, which had already proved itself during previous performances, was present to represent the musical comedy genre. In an interview, Elbert confessed that though *Mam'zelle* was extremely popular with audiences, that was not the principal reason for its inclusion in the schedule with such frequent regularity. He explained that it was a loosely strung together story of backstage life which furnished plenty of opportunity to interpolate any music, dance, or novelty numbers the director might wish to use. The play was a standard part of most stock actors' repertoires, and its backstage setting was nothing but makeshift scenery. It was, therefore, a simple matter to put the show together in a short time without too much

¹⁸ *The Princess Bulletin*, Aug. 23, 1914.

effort and still give an audience its money's worth. This is the reason *Mam'zelle* repeatedly appeared on Christmas billings. It provided theatergoers with a tuneful, holiday show and at the same time gave the actors a little pre-holiday leisure. Another factor which doubtless played a part was that the Christmas holidays and Holy Week were the year's two worst box office periods. A performance of *Mam'zelle* required little in production cost and was therefore an ideal show for a slack season. Elbert later revealed his solution for the Holy Week box office lull. Since it was the Gentile faction of the audience which stayed away from the theater at that time of the year, he encouraged the attendance of the Jewish portion of the patronage by presenting plays which would definitely appeal to them. Israel Zangwill's *The Melting Pot* was the most recurrent choice.

The 1914-1915 season fully reinstated the Princess after its failure of the year before. Des Moines had taken Miss Bainter to its heart, and the announcement that she would return the next year brought many letters of rejoicing from the vast clientele of Princess regulars. The season was a triumph for the management, the theater, the company, and the staff, but chiefly it was a personal triumph for the winsome young leading lady.

Six weeks before the end of the 1915-1916 season the news was published that Miss Bainter would not return the following year. The announcement brought forth numerous letters of regret, and the turnout for her farewell performance was a tribute to the young star's popularity, a popularity equalled neither by her predecessors nor her successors.

To replace the seemingly irreplaceable Miss Bainter, the management obtained the services of Florence Rittenhouse, who had made a reputation for herself on tour as leading lady to Norman Hackett in *Satan Sanderson*; with the Wadsworth Theater in New York City; the Lester Lonergan Players at Lynn, Massachusetts; in Washington, D. C.; and at the Academy of Music in Baltimore.¹⁹ In the 1917-1918 season Miss Rittenhouse was succeeded by Alice Clements, and then by Isabel Randolph, who is well known today as Mrs. Uppington on the Fibber McGee and Molly radio show.

The fall of 1918 was for the Princess, as for everyone else, a trying period. Several members of the company fell victims to the flu epidemic which was at that time sweeping the nation. From October 9 through 27 all theaters and other places of public gatherings were closed by order of the city as a precautionary measure to keep the disease from spreading.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, August 20, 1916.

The Princess reopened October 28, but two months later, on December 15, the *Bulletin* announced: "This week marks the close of the tenth season at the Princess Theatre. Elbert and Getchell deeply regret that such drastic measures are necessary, but rather than cut expenses and lower the standard of the Princess they prefer to temporarily discontinue until conditions have changed."²⁰

The leading lady who opened the eleventh season had enjoyed the distinction of creating the principal feminine roles in three of George Bernard Shaw's plays. She was Ernita Lascelles, whose performance in *Jacob and Esau* had so impressed Shaw that he gave her the privilege of doing his *Fanny's First Play*, *Androcles and the Lion*, and *The Philanderers*. Her term with the Princess was only her second contact with stock, and she was not the type of leading lady to which Princess patrons were accustomed. She was too dowdy to suit their tastes, and her very British personality prevented her from attaining the degree of popularity which was usually the lot of Princess stars. She left the company in October. Two years later she won fame in the role of Eve in Shaw's *Back to Methuselah*.

In 1919-1920 the Princess returned to a normal season's length, but increased operating costs necessitated boosting the top ticket price from eighty cents to a dollar and the low from fifteen to twenty-five cents. Discouraged by the continuing rise in operating costs and decline in box office receipts because of the encroachment of the motion picture, Elbert and Getchell temporarily retired from the Princess scene. They turned the management over to an outside firm, the Adams Theaters Company, whose first move was to raise ticket prices to a top of \$1.35.

Several veteran members of the Princess staff remained on, but without the guiding hands of Elbert and Getchell the Princess failed to maintain all its former quality and popularity. The personal touch of men devoted to the theater and the community was replaced by the impersonal relationship of chain ownership. At the close of the season the entire troupe moved to the Burtis Theater in Davenport to repeat some of the productions given earlier at the Princess. The endeavor met with little success, however.

The thirteenth season, 1921-1922, proved unlucky indeed for the Princess. Stagehand and streetcar worker strikes prevented the customary State Fair Week opening.²¹ Labor negotiations continued throughout the

²⁰ *Ibid.*, Dec. 15, 1918.

²¹ Interview with B. F. Elbert, Des Moines, Nov. 20, 1948.

fall months, but no settlement could be reached. These troubles, coupled with the only mediocre success of the twelfth season, led the Adams Theaters Company to abandon their lease on the Princess property. Local demand induced Elbert and Getchell to take up the reins once more.

This season was not up to the usual Elbert and Getchell high standards, but there were many factors to excuse such a failure. The decision to resume management of the Princess was made rather late in the year, leaving little time for the assembling of a company, and the careful planning which went into former seasons was of necessity neglected. The mere fact that the local team was back at the reins was the important thing, however, and the next season would see them again back in championship stride.

In December, 1922, the *Register and Leader* carried this foreboding item of news: "Several stock companies in the middle west are closing every week and *Variety* estimates [that there are] 400 or 500 actors and actresses in Chicago following the layoff of stock actors. Meanwhile our own Princess Playhouse anticipates no such necessity though they are not playing to normal business."²²

One wonders how bad business was, especially when subsequent Princess advertisements kept reassuring the public (or more probably the management itself): "Every day our crowds are growing bigger and bigger." It must be stressed that the decline in business was no fault of the Princess or its management. The same high standards were maintained, but it was impossible to meet the competition offered by motion picture houses whose top prices ranged from twenty to thirty cents.

In commemoration of the Princess' thirteenth birthday in 1922, the *Register and Leader* featured the following eulogy by Gideon D. Seymour:

After a season or so of mediocrity under other managements the Princess Players have come back again to the standards which made them famous.

There have been two or three presentations at the Princess this year which the writer enjoyed much more than when they were offered by the original companies on the road. A stock company which can meet this exacting standard is indeed a deserving one.

That is why the celebration of the Princess Players' anniversary will be observed this week not in perfunctory fashion but as in recognition of an institution which is a distinct community asset, for which Des Moines is famous throughout the whole the-

²² Des Moines *Register and Leader*, Dec. 24, 1922.

atrical field. That a good stock company, made up of actors who make Des Moines their home, is much preferred to an itinerant troupe is too evident to require proof.²³

Two days after the last performance of the season, a fire of unknown origin swept the interior of the building. Theatrical superstition blamed the whistling of a visitor to the dressing rooms on the night of the final performance for the disaster.²⁴

Having completely rebuilt the burned-out interior, Elbert and Getchell started their last season as Princess managers on November 4, 1923. No longer was a forty-week season possible. The movies had made further encroachments on the box office, operating costs had risen still more, and Elbert and Getchell had seen the writing on the wall. The moderate returns of the 1923-1924 season convinced them that stock was a thing of the past, and they relinquished their Princess lease. For fourteen years they had been the motivating force behind one of the most successful and well-known theatrical enterprises in the entire nation, and it was no fault of theirs which brought about the institution's final failure. As it was, the Princess had survived longer than many other similar organizations. Even after Elbert and Getchell left the scene, the theater continued for four more years to house stock companies, but the three groups which followed were not of the same class as the "Incomparable Princess Players." It had been the strict and understanding management of Elbert and Getchell which had put the company on the top and kept it there. Their retirement rang the death knell for one of Des Moines's most loved and honored institutions.

Left with an empty theater on his hands, owner Oscar Lofquist booked in the itinerant stock group known as the Gordinier Players for the 1924-1925 season, and prices were lowered to ten to seventy-five cents for evenings and ten to fifty cents for matinees. The undistinguished season ran from September 7 through December 13, at which time the entire troupe moved on to Duluth, Minnesota. Accustomed to the high standards established by Elbert and Getchell, the Des Moines theatergoing public failed to lend much support to this group of outsiders.

Through the aid of Elbert and Getchell, owner Lofquist the next season booked in a group headed by Morgan Wallace, a well-known English actor. Under his supervision, the theater improved but in no way approached its

²³ *Ibid.*, Oct. 29, 1922.

²⁴ *Des Moines Tribune*, Feb. 19, 1923.

former glory, although the group enjoyed a comparatively prosperous run of thirty-three weeks. Most interesting event of the season was the premiere performance of *The Divine Sinner*, a drama written by Minnie Z. Jaffa in collaboration with Morgan Wallace himself. However, the other plays on the schedule were standard stock fare.

One of the members of the Wallace company was Ralph Bellamy, who gained considerable local popularity as leading man. When Wallace decided against undertaking another season, Bellamy took over the Princess lease. The Ralph Bellamy Players debuted September 12, 1926, with Austin Strong's World War romance, *Seventh Heaven*. The thirty-six week season which ensued was an impressive one. Bellamy, with his father, Rexford, as house and business manager, proved to be an ambitious producer; the season included such outstanding attractions as *What Price Glory*, the musical *Irene*, *Rip Van Winkle*, and Molnar's *Liliom*. This was the theater's most successful season in several years, but attendance was no longer the weekly family ritual it had been in the day of the Princess' heyday. Motion pictures and, by this time, radio had weaned the Des Moines public away from the Princess habit. With so many other forms of entertainment so readily and so inexpensively available, it was necessary for the management to resort to numerous devices such as special club rates to lure the customers in and to insure a profit.

In September, 1927, the Princess changed ownership. Oscar Lofquist, who had built the theater eighteen years before, sold it to Edwin W. Pascoe.²⁵ Bellamy, however, still held the lease on it, and on September 10 began his second season with Myron C. Fagan's *The Little Spitfire*. He managed to keep the enterprise alive with a fair degree of success for thirty-two weeks, but the stock company was an outmoded institution. The production of Barry Connors' *Applesauce* in April was the rather undistinguished swan song for an extremely distinguished institution.

Several attempts at revival were made in the years that followed, but none met with any marked degree of success. A semi-professional group calling themselves the Guild Players made a stand of a few weeks during the summer of 1928. In October of 1930, the building, unoccupied for two years, was put up for public auction and sold to the Bankers Life Company of Des Moines for \$44,538.²⁶ In 1931 Edward H. Ziegel of

²⁵ *Ibid.*, Sept. 30, 1927.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, Oct. 18, 1930.

Kansas City tried to revive the Princess with a musical stock company, but the theater was dark once more after a disastrous five-week run.²⁷ On February 28, 1932, still another attempt at revival was made by Jack Paige. His project fell through after about two and a half months. In December, E. R. Fitzgerald of Boston leased the theater for a production of *Another Language*, and later the same month Miss Beverly Bane made a guest appearance with the Kendall Community Players in Noel Coward's *Hay Fever*. It was hoped at that time to do other productions there, but the plan was abandoned. Two months later, on the night of February 18, 1933, fire for a second time swept through the interior of the building. Ironically enough, the last public attraction which had graced the once distinguished theater had been a boxing and wrestling exhibition.²⁸

On April 13, 1934, the *Tribune* announced the acquisition of the property under a one-year lease by the Reverend Cline Halsey, pastor of the Calvary Tabernacle. Church members cleared out the debris, turned the Green Room into a choir room, built tiers of seats for seventy or eighty choir members on the stage, and held their first service on April 22. After the church relinquished its lease, the building again remained vacant for several years until purchased and remodeled by the Moose Lodge as the local clubrooms. This is the position the building holds in the community today. On the outside it looks much as it did when it opened forty years ago, but inside there is little to remind one of the glamor and glory that it knew as the home of the "Incomparable Princess Players."

A score of years has failed to wipe the Princess from the scene, however. Though no longer the center of local dramatic life, its influence is still felt in Des Moines's contemporary theatrical activities, and its memory lives on in the minds of thousands of once regular patrons. An institution which is vividly and happily remembered a score of years after its demise must certainly have been a potent force while it lived.

Des Moines was not alone in recognizing the theater's worth. It was widely lauded as one of the top stock organizations in the entire country. Bertrand D. Wilton of New York wrote, in 1912:

I think Des Moines should realize the distinction that is the city's by reason of having so excellent a stock company as is maintained at the Princess. I travel all over the country continu-

²⁷ *Ibid.*, Nov. 11, 1931.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, Feb. 19, 1933.

ously and have seen all the leading stock organizations in the various cities. The Princess Company ranks at the very top, without question, and I was especially surprised to find such a company in a city of Des Moines's size. The theatre and company should be a credit to New York, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Chicago, San Francisco or Los Angeles. I bespeak for management and the players every success and wish to express my thanks for a most pleasant evening.²⁹

Professional theater people, too, were liberal with their praise. In October, 1911, a distinguished actor attended the Princess:

One of the interested visitors at the Princess last week was Frank Bacon, who plays the part of "Sam Graham," the lovable old druggist in "The Fortune Hunter." Mr. Bacon has several close friends among the Princess Players and is an enthusiastic admirer of the company. After witnessing the Tuesday matinee performance of "Barbara Frietchie," he declared that in all his stage experience, which covers a quarter of a century, he has never seen stock productions which equal those at the Princess, either for elaborate attention to detail or for careful preparation and faithful presentation. In view of his long connection with the Alcazar Company of San Francisco, which ranks as one of the greatest stock organizations in America, his statement is worthy of note.³⁰

In discussing his theatrical debut at the Princess, the now famous stage and screen actor, Conrad Nagel, writes: "I first entered the theatre in 1915 in the Princess Theatre in Des Moines, Iowa. At that time it was recognized as one of the outstanding stock companies of the entire country, and is still referred to by some of the old timers as the best of them all."³¹

Miss Fay Bainter, also well known on stage and screen, has further laurels to place upon the Princess' memory. She writes:

When I opened at the Princess Theater, August, 1914, it was considered one of, if not *the* finest stock companies in the country. Its management was the best.

It would be impossible to tell you how important the 2 years — 80 weeks, 40 weeks a season — were to me. I was 19, a very young woman to have the responsibility of leading lady and Mr.

²⁹ *The Princess Bulletin*, Nov. 3, 1912.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, Oct. 22, 1911.

³¹ Letter to author from Conrad Nagel, The Lambs Club, New York, Dec. 31, 1948.

Morrison each week watched and worked with us as if it were a New York opening. Nothing second class was ever permitted — only the best in scenery, acting, and the choice of plays.³²

Mary Ward Crawley made her theatrical debut at the Princess under the name of Mary Holton. Today, a successful New York press agent, she says of the Princess:

During my career as an actress (which I later abandoned to do publicity) I worked with a number of stock companies. The Princess at Des Moines ranked very high. Managed by Elbert and Getchell, and with Priestly Morrison as director, it employed actors of high calibre and put on excellent productions. It was my first professional engagement and I shall always be grateful for the excellent training I received under Mr. Morrison's direction and for the high ideals of my chosen profession that I gained from the management and company. My association with the Princess was important in my development as an actress and as an individual.

The Princess held a high place in the life of the community and I only regret that there are not companies like it today.³³

Stuart Fox, the juvenile during the third Princess season, and now a popular character actor in New York, writes:

How did the Princess rank with other groups? Well, Broadway seemed cold and calculating by comparison. . . . I think artistically the Princess was able under Elbert and Getchell, with Priestly Morrison directing, to produce far better stock than any other in the country.³⁴

One of the best descriptions of the quality of the Princess Theater and Company was given by leading man Robert Hyman, in 1916:

The audiences here are bully and always have been, and they make the actor feel comfortable and that his efforts are appreciated. . . . Now there's a reason for this — people are people the world over, and a mere matter of geography shouldn't affect their dispositions. The answer here is that the Des Moines public believes in the management of the Princess Theatre; they have faith in Messrs. Elbert and Getchell; they know that these gentlemen

³² Letter to author from Fay Bainter, Hotel Astor, New York, undated, received May 30, 1949.

³³ Letter to author from Mary Ward Crawley, New York, May 4, 1949.

³⁴ Letter to author from Stuart Fox, Lambs Club, New York, June 17, 1949.

have always played fair with them — for that reason the player when being introduced here receives a hearty and friendly welcome, and launches into his work with a feeling that he is among friends. . . .

Individual brilliancy is attractive, but it doesn't accomplish much. Our Princess is a fine example of efficient management and departmental cooperation. There is no wrangling, no discord in the theatre. The office force, the mechanical staff, the musicians, the actors, all seem to greet each other with a sort of "go-to-it-boy-I'm-for-you" expression.

Everybody realizes that the management demands their best work — that nothing else will be accepted. This is clearly understood and all go about their work happily. The players all work together to make the points of the play that the author intended, and no individual is permitted to exploit himself to the detriment of the play.

I know of no company where the plays are so faithfully interpreted as they are here at the Princess; where the scenic details are so nearly perfect; where the general dignified tone of the drama so nearly approaches that of the first class producing theatres in New York.³⁵

A roll call of Princess alumni reads like a minor "who's who" of the entertainment world. The top three are, of course, Fay Bainter, Ralph Bellamy, and Conrad Nagel, who have all gained fame and fortune both in Hollywood and New York. However, they form only a small portion of the complete list. Many a motion picture has featured such former Princess players as John Litel, Frank McHugh, Robert Armstrong, Charles Halton, Harry Hayden, Isabel Randolph, the late George Barbier, Selmer Jackson, and Minor Watson (recently co-starred with Ralph Bellamy in the New York production of *State of the Union*). Mary Loane, once a Princess ingenue, a few years ago was playing Vinnie in the New York company of *Life With Father*. These are but a few of the actors who followed their engagements at the Princess with successful careers in Hollywood and New York and on the road.

Actors, however, are not the only distinguished alumni. George D. Watters, for many years house manager of the Princess, later married ingenue Tamzon Mankers and adopted her maiden name as his middle name. Under the name of George Mankers Watters he wrote the hit show *Bur-*

³⁵ *The Princess Bulletin*, Aug. 27, 1916.

lesque which several seasons ago enjoyed a successful revival run of over a year with Bert Lahr in the lead. Watters also served for a long period as manager of the famous Roxy Theater in New York. Charles Tazewell, whose *Little One* and *The Littlest Angel* are becoming traditional parts of American Christmas festivities, was once an extra at the Princess, and Bruce Gould, now co-editor of the *Ladies Home Journal*, served for a short time as press representative for the theater.

Most important, however, is the Princess' contribution to Des Moines itself. In the nineteen years of its existence, the Princess presented 539 different plays representing the writing talents of 399 authors. By carefully choosing the plays and by giving them the best production possible, the management educated Des Moines audiences toward an understanding and appreciation of good theater and drama. The effect of this is still apparent in the vast audiences which are drawn from Des Moines and its surrounding territory to the KRNT Theater, one of the nation's largest, when it features a professional legitimate stage production.

A more direct outgrowth of the Princess is the Kendall Community Playhouse. This well-known and thriving community theater group grew out of the Little Theater Society of Des Moines. Among the early recorded minutes of that organization may be found the information: "The first production was given on November 24, 1919. The program consisted of three one-act plays and the entire production was supervised by Mr. William Mack, director of the Princess Stock Company."³⁶ Also at one of the first meetings, Dan Finch, scenic artist of the Princess, was elected an officer and appointed chairman of the properties department. It seems logical, therefore, to assume that the dramatic interest aroused by the Princess was in part responsible for the founding and continued maintenance of the Des Moines amateur theater movement.

³⁶ Letter to author from Verner Haldene, Director, Kendall Community Playhouse, Des Moines, Jan. 14, 1949.

JONATHAN PRENTISS DOLLIVER: THE FORMATIVE YEARS

By Gordon F. Hostettler*

Jonathan Prentiss Dolliver, Iowa's famous Representative and Senator from 1888 until his death in 1910, was born February 6, 1858, near Kingwood, Preston County, Virginia. His father, James J. Dolliver, was a circuit riding Methodist preacher, and his mother, Elizabeth J. Brown, was the daughter of Robert Brown, prominent farmer and politician.¹ The first ten years of Jonathan's life were spent on the farm of Grandfather Brown.

Dolliver's boyhood home was significant in his life, for Preston County, under the stresses of the Civil War, was soon to secede from Virginia and join in establishing West Virginia. Jonathan was undoubtedly too young to be directly influenced by the heated controversies which gripped the Virginia mountains from 1858 to 1863, but the fact that his relatives were leaders in the fight against secession from the United States could hardly fail to leave an impression upon his first acquaintance with political matters. The people of West Virginia were equally vehement in their attachment to the Union and in their hatred for slavery. Thus, Jonathan grew up in a region where the issues of the Civil War left an especially deep imprint. Direct evidence is difficult to find, but it does not seem improbable that such an environment played its part in making Dolliver a staunch national-

*This article is a part of Dr. Hostettler's doctoral dissertation, "The Oratorical Career of Jonathan Prentiss Dolliver," written at the State University of Iowa in 1947, under the direction of Professor A. Craig Baird.

¹ James J. Dolliver's ancestry was predominantly English and Welsh. Members of the family began settling around Gloucester and Marblehead, Mass., in the middle seventeenth century. For complete genealogy see: William H. Dolliver, *Some Notes on the Dolliver, Dolliber, Dollaber, Doliber, Dolover, Originally Dolyber, Families*. Mimeographed pamphlet in the *Dolliver Papers*. Elizabeth J. Brown was a descendant of Scotch-Irish forebears. Her great-grandfather, John Brown, migrated from Edinburgh to Londonderry in the early eighteenth century, and her grandfather, James Brown, arrived in Preston County in 1780. See Bernard L. Butcher, *Genealogical and Personal History of the Upper Monongabala Valley, West Virginia* (New York, 1912), 1:381-9. Elizabeth Brown's mother, Anne Hawthorne, also from Londonderry, was a direct descendant of the poet, Robert Burns. Authority of J. M. Guy Brown, son of John J. Brown, who was the brother of Jonathan Dolliver's mother. Interview, Morgantown, West Virginia, Aug. 17, 1944.

ist and a loyal supporter of the Republican party. Something of the influence of the times can be seen in a speech which he delivered in 1890:

I can just remember the day when the solemn bells tolled for the death of Lincoln and how every neighbor seemed to be crying as if a friend had died. A few weeks later I heard it said, about the family altar of a humble home among the loyal mountains of West Virginia, amid tears and prayers, that the war was over and the old flag safe. And then the boys came back and used to tell to listening people their thrilling story of the service. I remember how strong and splendid it all seemed — this defending of the flag of the nation.²

Dolliver's career was influenced to a marked degree by his parents and homelife. With seven mouths to feed, and money never plentiful, life was plain in the Dolliver home.³ But apparently many compensations were to be found in the *esprit de corps* which the family cheerfully maintained in the face of poverty. After he had left for the West, Dolliver fondly recalled the days spent in his boyhood home.

The dominant feature of the Dolliver home was the emphasis upon religion. Every morning and evening the family gathered for prayers, and the children were required to study and memorize parts of the Bible. James J. Dolliver was a religious "fundamentalist" and preached "hell fire and damnation." He believed, and taught his children to believe, literally in the words of the Bible. He thought that a life was important only when it was so lived as to insure a place in the heaven of Christian theology, and he was confident in his belief that the course of events in this world was governed by God.⁴

² Speech delivered May 30, 1890, before the G. A. R., Metropolitan Opera House, New York City. The text was printed in the Des Moines *Iowa State Register*, May 30, 1890.

³ Jonathan was the second of five children. They were, in order, Robert H., Jonathan, Mary, Victor, and Margaret Gay. The Methodist Church contracted to pay James J. Dolliver \$550 in 1880, the greatest amount he had received to that date. Mary Dolliver to Dolliver, Nov. 25, 1879, *Dolliver Papers* (State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City). The letters used in this article are all from this collection.

⁴ Dolliver's familiarity with the Bible is very evident in his speeches. He often told Senator La Follette of his Biblical studies. Robert M. La Follette, *La Follette's Autobiography: A Personal Narrative of Political Experiences* (Madison, Wisc., 1913), 435. His study of the Bible as a boy was also confirmed in interviews with George E. Roberts, Larchmont, N. Y., Feb. 9, 1946, with D. M. Kelleher, Fort Dodge, Iowa, Aug. 5, 1944, and with J. M. Guy Brown, Aug. 17, 1944. The words in quotation marks describing Father Dolliver are Mr. Brown's.

These religious concepts were constantly urged upon the Dolliver children. The nature of the exhortations is clearly shown in the letters which the father wrote to his sons. A typical word of advice read: "Let your companions be few and well selected, and don't let the world of the flesh or the Devil come in and rob you of your home in heaven." Another declared: ". . . My dear boys, don't forget your higher calling. Honor God in all that you do. Acknowledge Him in all your ways and He will direct your paths."⁵ Dolliver's mother also joined in these religious counsels. Typical in her letters of advice was: "I . . . pray that your lives may be lives of usefulness and your young hearts' best devotions may be given to Christ and His course."⁶

Dolliver also received from his parents a strong belief in nationalism and a high regard for the Republican party. His father had preached that slavery was a moral and religious wrong. It was only natural, then, that he espoused the nationalistic views of the North during the Civil War and that he came to regard Abraham Lincoln's Republican party as the agent of God. When his sons decided to stake their future in Iowa, he wrote: "Now, my dear boys, hold high the banner of the Cross and just below it nail the stars and stripes of your country and the day shall be yours." Here, too, it would appear that Dolliver's mother echoed the sentiments of the father; Jonathan's sister told him that "your loyalty and patriotism are due largely to mother."⁷

Dolliver's parents further contributed to his career by constantly encouraging him to study and speak. His mother was a "small, delicate, quiet" woman who ruled her children "gently but firmly." She had high ambitions for them and made many sacrifices to give them educational opportunities. Her attitude was well revealed when she wrote, "My children are my fortune — all is staked in them." She was convinced that Jonathan had a brilliant future before him and she offered unstinting encouragement to his early platform efforts.⁸ Her letters to her son display

⁵ James J. Dolliver to Jonathan and Robert Dolliver, Oct. 20, 1878; Nov. 5, 1879. Dolliver never received a letter from his father which did not include similar words of advice. See letters of James J. Dolliver, Apr. 8, Sept. 8, 1879; Oct. 23, 1880; Aug. 22, 1881.

⁶ Mrs. James J. Dolliver to Jonathan and Robert Dolliver, Apr. 13, 1879.

⁷ James J. Dolliver to Jonathan and Robert Dolliver, March 17, 1878. The father's loyalty to Republicanism was expressed in letters written April 28, 1880, and Nov. 3, 1880. See also Mary Dolliver to Jonathan P. Dolliver, June 9, 1880.

⁸ Interviews with Mrs. Mary Dille Emory and J. M. Guy Brown, Morgantown, W.

her intense interest in his speaking and her ambitions for his success. The father, too, set high goals for his son. He sensed that Jonathan might have a future in politics because of his speaking ability, and in 1880 prophetically declared: "I may live to see and hear him [Jonathan] in the councils of his adopted state. He may stand in the hall of Congress and his voice may be heard in the Senate of the United States." He was always greatly interested in the speaking activities of his sons. When his boys were about to enter the 1879 campaign in Iowa, he wrote: "If any of your speeches are published, I hope you will let us see them." Even after Jonathan had gone to Congress, the father advised: ". . . be careful of what you say and how you say it."⁹ Undoubtedly the interest and encouragement which Dolliver's speaking efforts received from his parents served as an excellent stimulus to his ambition to become a prominent orator.

There is some evidence to show that the sermons and speaking methods of the Reverend Dolliver influenced Dolliver's techniques. The Senator once declared: "If I have any ability as a public speaker, I inherited it from my father, who, while not a theologian in the exact sense, was the most remarkable exhorter I ever heard. Indeed, he would have been a very popular orator on any subject."¹⁰ To his brother, Jonathan once wrote: "Vic, I want you to study his mode of delivering a speech. . . . Father is a natural born orator from his youth up, and you can find no better model of forceful and eloquent appeals than father's sermons."¹¹

Little is known about Dolliver's early schooling except that he attended a rural school, called Pleasant Dale,¹² near Kingwood, where the famous *McGuffey Readers* were probably the source of wisdom and learning.

There is no conclusive evidence that the *Readers* were used by Dolliver, but it seems to be a safe assumption that they were. While the Senator left no written record, and his children can give no information on the matter, there are several indications that Dolliver did study in the traditional works Va., Aug. 17, 1944. See letter of Mrs. James J. Dolliver to Mrs. J. W. Reger (her sister), Dec. 2, 1878. Her greatest sacrifice was the yielding of her dower rights in her father's farm so that it could be sold to pay James J. Dolliver's debts and keep Robert and Jonathan in college.

⁹ Letters of James J. Dolliver to Robert Dolliver, Jan. 19, 1880; to Jonathan and Robert Dolliver, Sept. 8, 1879; and to Jonathan Dolliver, Dec. 26, 1889.

¹⁰ Interview published in the *Washington Herald*, Oct. 16, 1910.

¹¹ Dolliver to Victor Dolliver, Nov. 1, 1879.

¹² The name of the school was mentioned in a letter from a schoolmate, J. A. Bowen to Dolliver, Sept. 10, 1900.

of McGuffey. The *Readers* were widely used in West Virginia in the 1860's; Congressman James I. Dolliver is "rather certain" that his father, Robert Dolliver, read McGuffey; and a close friend of the Senator "thinks" that Dolliver once said that he had studied the *Readers* as a boy.¹³

In the *McGuffey Readers* Dolliver would have encountered training wholly consistent with that which he received in his home. Belief in God and fervent patriotism were the bases of the ideals which McGuffey sought to inculcate. The selections included in the *Readers* were designed "to present the best specimens of style, to insure interest in the subjects, to impart valuable information, and, especially, to exert a decided and healthy moral and religious influence."¹⁴

In the *Readers* young "Prent," as he was then known, would have first encountered portions of the speeches of Patrick Henry, Henry Lee, William Wirt, Daniel Webster, Wendell Phillips, Henry Ward Beecher, Robert Walpole, William Pitt, Edmund Burke, Charles James Fox, and Macaulay. These selections were not only to be studied for style and content, but they were to be read aloud. Thus, Dolliver's first speaking experiences may have consisted in declaiming the words of some of the world's most famous orators in his country schoolhouse.

To guide pupils in delivering the selections, McGuffey included a set of rules for articulation, inflection, accent, emphasis, modulation, and "poetic pauses." It should be noted that these rules did not conform with the artificial elocutionist approach which was so prevalent at the time. Rather, McGuffey believed that, "The best speakers and readers are those who follow the impulse of nature as felt in their own hearts. . . ." While a causal connection cannot be assumed, it is perhaps significant that Dolliver consistently employed a "conversational" mode of delivery throughout his life. A section entitled "Duty of the American Orator" revealed McGuffey's strong nationalism. A typical passage read: "Let the American orator comprehend, and live up to the grand conception, that the Union is the property of the world, no less than of ourselves; that it is a part of the divine scheme for the moral government of the earth. . . . Let him comprehend

¹³ This information has been gleaned from an interview with Professor J. M. Callahan, at Morgantown, W. Va., Aug. 19, 1944; from letter from James I. Dolliver to author, July 20, 1946; and from interview with D. M. Kelleher, Aug. 5, 1944.

¹⁴ Wm. H. McGuffey, *McGuffey's New Fifth Eclectic Reader* . . . (Cincinnati, 1866), [5]. An excellent critique of the *Readers* is given by Mark Sullivan, *Our Times* (6 vols., New York, 1926), 2:23-46.

its sublime relations to time and eternity; to God and man. . . ." Another passage admonished: "Be it then the noblest office of American eloquence, to cultivate, in the people of every State, a deep and fervent attachment to the Union."¹⁵ These were sentiments to which Dolliver could, as a boy and a man, give hearty assent.

In 1868 the Reverend Dolliver moved his family to Morgantown in order that his sons might enter West Virginia University. At the age of ten, Dolliver was enrolled in the preparatory department. He studied there for three years until he was admitted to the University proper in the fall of 1871. His studies in the preparatory department included mathematics through plane geometry, grammar, geography, elementary Latin and Greek, and a course termed "literary." The latter course was conducted by a Professor Alcott and consisted of "regular lessons in writing, spelling, elocution, and English composition." Apparently little attention was given to original speaking. Students were regularly required to recite declamations, and the criticisms offered were chiefly confined to comments on enunciation and pronunciation.¹⁶ Here Dolliver may have had some of his most obvious and elementary faults corrected.

The curriculum which Dolliver entered as a University freshman was, typical of the period, preponderantly classical. Emphasis was centered upon literature, philosophy, mathematics, and languages, especially Latin and Greek. During his first year he studied English literature, European history, the Constitution of the United States, Latin, Greek, algebra, geometry, and trigonometry. In the Greek course he read Herodotus, the *Iliad*, and the *Odyssey*, and in Latin, Cicero's *De Senectute* and *De Amicitia*, Virgil's *Bucolics* and *Georgics*, and Horace's *Odes* and *Epodes*. His second year found him taking philology, chemistry, botany, surveying, analytical geometry, Greek, Latin, logic, and rhetoric. This year he read in Greek, Xenophon's *Memorabilia* and Plato's *Crito* and *Apology*, and in Latin, Horace's *Satires* and *Epistles*, and undesignated works of Livy. Whately's *Elements of Rhetoric* was his text in the rhetoric course. In his

¹⁵ McGuffey's *New Fifth Eclectic Reader* . . . , 9, 254, 256.

¹⁶ Based on the statement of Professor J. M. Callahan, who took the elementary literary course under Professor Alcott five or six years after Dolliver's graduation. Interview, Aug. 19, 1944. Dolliver's grades are still on file in the office of the Registrar at West Virginia University, and show that he was only an average student during his first year, but distinctly superior during the last two. For courses of study, see *Register of West Virginia University, 1868-1871*, 64, 119, 160; *Catalog of West Virginia University, 1869-1870*, 23.

junior year he registered for mental philosophy, political economy, French, physics, calculus, zoology, and human anatomy; and in his senior year he took "moral, political, and sacred" philosophy, the history of civilization, astronomy, geology, and German.¹⁷

Direct causal relations between this classical education and Dolliver's subsequent career cannot, of course, be positively established. Certainly, however, the wide scope of his studies gave him an understanding and appreciation of many areas of knowledge. His general education enabled him in later years to speak and lecture on a large variety of subjects. During his college days, as a result of his studies of Latin, Greek, and English literature, he developed an interest in classical literary works.¹⁸ His love for the best in literature remained with him throughout his life and accounts for the many classical allusions in his speeches. His study of Latin may also explain the evident preference in his speeches for words derived from that ancient language.

The exact influence of Whately's *Elements of Rhetoric*, his text in the sophomore rhetoric course, is also difficult to ascertain specifically. Dolliver seems to have followed the precepts of the book in some respects and to have ignored them in others. Professor F. S. Lyons, the instructor in the rhetoric class, does not seem to have influenced Dolliver to a great extent as a speaker. At least Dolliver once remarked that he developed his speaking talents after he left the University and that, except for much opportunity to practice, he received little help from the instructors there.¹⁹

But if instruction was inadequate, opportunities for students to learn to speak by speaking were excellent at West Virginia University. In addition to the courses listed above, Dolliver was required to participate for all four years in the activity known as "literary." The laws of the University provided that: "Declamations and exercises in oratory shall be had every week. . . . These shall be assigned to the students in rotation; nor shall any student be exempt. . . ." ²⁰ Thus, every Friday afternoon the one

¹⁷ *Register of West Virginia University, 1871-1872*, 23; *1872-1873*, 60; *1873-1874*, 74; *1874-1875*, 86; *Catalog of West Virginia University, 1871-1872*, 16-17; *1872-1873*, 13-16.

¹⁸ This fact was stated by Dolliver to D. M. Kelleher, as reported in interview, Aug. 5, 1944.

¹⁹ *Idem*.

²⁰ *Laws of the University of West Virginia*, 8. The booklet containing the laws is bound with the catalogs from 1867 to 1879 in the library of the University.

hundred and sixty students of the University gathered to hear their fellows recite poems and parts of famous orations, read essays, and deliver speeches of their own composition. Here Dolliver delivered original orations, the manuscripts of which bear further testimony to the inadequacy of his speech instruction at the University. Most of the orations were poorly organized, awkwardly expressed, and deficient in supporting evidence; but the criticisms marked upon them merely modified some of the most glaring overstatements and corrected spelling and obvious errors in composition.

The annual Regents' Contest, sponsored by the University, offered further speaking experiences. Fifteen dollars was awarded for the best performance in declamation, and twenty-five dollars was given for the best essay, which was to be read orally.²¹ The contest was held in connection with commencement exercises, with the University Regents serving as judges. It was considered an important event, and large audiences were on hand to hear the youthful participants. In 1870 and 1871 Dolliver entered the declamation contest. He failed to win either year, but, in the opinion of one observer, he performed very well on his second try. The *Morgantown Post* makes no further mention of Dolliver as a contestant until his senior year, when he entered an essay, "The True Aim of Education." Again he failed to win.²²

As a college student, Dolliver also acquired considerable speaking experience in the Columbian Literary Society. He became a member in the spring of 1871, before he was admitted to the University as a freshman.²³ He was very active in the programs of the Society throughout his college career, and he served for a brief period as secretary. The Society was operated entirely by the student members and met every week to listen to declamations, essays, original orations, and debates. The activities were invariably presented as contests, with the upperclass members serving as judges. Aside from the assigned contests, the Society frequently engaged in general debates. Typical subjects for these occasions were: "Should education be compulsory?" "Does anticipation or possession yield the greater pleasure?" and "Is language human?" These debates, conducted

²¹ *Catalog of West Virginia University, 1869-1870*, 27.

²² *Morgantown Post*, June 17, 1871; June 26, 1875.

²³ *Minutes of the Columbian Literary Society*, Apr. 13, 20, 1871. (Hereafter referred to as *Minutes*.)

under strict rules of order, thus provided experience in the intricacies of parliamentary practice as well as extempore speaking.

Dolliver entered into the Society's activities with a good deal of enthusiasm. He participated frequently, often volunteered to fill in when scheduled speakers were absent, and was fined for "non-performance" only twice.²⁴ His efforts in the Society did not meet with much success, however. While the decisions were not always recorded, the data available show that he was victorious over his opponent four out of nine times in declamation, three out of six times in essay, and once in three times in original oratory. His record in debating was his poorest, for here the side he represented was given only four decisions out of fourteen. These facts constitute further evidence that his speaking skills were developed after he left the University. Indeed, his poor showing may have served as a spur to improve his abilities as a speaker by his own efforts.

Aside from the regular meetings of the Columbian Literary Society, there were several occasions each year in which its members appeared in public. The first of these was the "Public Performance" held each fall. In 1872, Dolliver rendered a declamation for this event and was defeated. He appeared again in 1874, this time to debate on the Civil Rights Bill, and this time the decision was awarded to his team.²⁵ Another meeting which was open to the public was the annual "Columbian Anniversary," held in connection with graduation, but Dolliver was never selected by his society to participate in this event. By far the most important public occasion was the Brown Contest held every March. This contest pitted the Columbian speakers against their fellows from the rival Parthenon Society. Prizes of forty, thirty, twenty, and ten dollars were awarded the society with the winning debate team, orator, essay writer, and declaimer. Dolliver was selected to represent his society in the 1872 contest. He recited a humorous declamation, "Daniel vs. Dishcloth," but lost to the Parthenon declaimer. In 1875 Dolliver gained a place on the Columbian debate team. The question was: "Do the present circumstances of Europe afford reason

²⁴ Dolliver volunteered to extemporize in debate Oct. 20, 1871; May 3, 1872; Jan. 17, Feb. 4, 1873; March 12, May 8, Sept. 18, 1874, *Minutes. Ledger of the Columbian Literary Society*, 6, 79. This *Ledger* contains the accounts of the members and is on file in the library of the University. "Enthusiastic" is perhaps the proper adjective for Dolliver's participation in the Society's meetings. The *Ledger* reveals that he was fined no less than nine times for entering debates, when controversy was intense and excitement high, without recognition from the chairman.

²⁵ *Minutes*, Nov. 2, 1872; Nov. 13, 1874.

to expect an amelioration of human affairs?" The side which he defended was not listed, but the decision was won by his team.²⁶ Here again, the fact that he was not called upon more often to represent the Columbian Society in the various public performances indicates that his speaking ability was not yet fully developed.

Two further speaking experiences rounded out his college efforts. In January, 1875, he delivered an original oration at the annual "Senior Performance," and at commencement he was chosen "philosophical orator." His title was "A Phase of Social Philosophy." The *Wheeling Intelligencer* declared, not too unfairly, that: "He philosophized on the origin of class distinctions and found them nothing but the work of the Devil, inasmuch as they were the prime cause of every calamity that has overtaken nations."²⁷

Dolliver's religious convictions were reinforced during his college years. The "atmosphere" of West Virginia University was "heavily religious." Much of the emphasis on religion was undoubtedly due to President Alexander Martin, who taught the required philosophy course in the senior year. Dr. Martin left the University in the fall of 1875 to assume the presidency of De Pauw University, where he taught a similar course to Albert J. Beveridge. Of Martin's influence on Beveridge, Ross writes: "To Dr. Martin must be attributed, in part at least, Beveridge's strong belief in a Divinity which shaped the destinies of nations as well as men, and his fearless insistence upon ethical integrity in every sphere of activity."²⁸ These were attributes of Dolliver, no less than of Beveridge, and Dr. Martin may have strengthened similar beliefs in these two orators of reform.

When Dolliver left the University, at the age of seventeen, he took with him exceptionally fine recommendations in recognition of his excellent scholarship and high moral character.²⁹ In the years 1875-1878, he divided

²⁶ The contest was first announced in the *Catalog of West Virginia University, 1869-1870*, 29, and reported in the *Morgantown Post*, March 20, 23, 1872. The *Post* declared: "Both [declamations] were admirably delivered, and the young gentlemen evinced excellent qualities that go far toward making good speakers."

²⁷ *Morgantown Post*, June 26, 1875. The manuscript is in the *Dolliver Papers*.

²⁸ Interviews with Professor J. M. Callahan, Aug. 19, 1944, and with the Hon. Seth A. Thomas, Judge of the U. S. Circuit Court, Fort Dodge, Iowa, Aug. 5, 1944. Both men graduated from the University a few years after Dolliver. See also *Morgantown Post*, Sept. 25, 1875; and Harold T. Ross, "The Education of an Orator," *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 18:77 (Feb., 1932).

²⁹ As a student Dolliver's average grades were 8.88 in 1871-1872; 9.25 in 1872-1873; 9.24 in 1873-1874; and 9.34 in 1874-1875, with 10.00 being a perfect grade.

his time between reading law and school teaching. The summers and the winter of 1876-1877 were spent studying Blackstone and the statutes of West Virginia in the offices of his uncle, John J. Brown, in Morgantown.³⁰ The other two winters found him teaching school in Illinois. In 1875-1876 he taught in a rural school at Victor Center, and in 1877-1878 he was assistant principal in the Sandwich High School.³¹

While Dolliver was diligent enough to master the legal principles which John J. Brown deemed essential, he was not, his uncle thought, deeply interested in law. The young apprentice found the complete set of *Congressional Records* and *Globes*, which were shelved in his uncle's office, much more fascinating than his law books. He spent hours reading and re-reading the Congressional oratory which preceded the Civil War. Often he would set off for the woods surrounding Morgantown with a volume of the *Record* under his arm. There he would mount a stump and, imagining himself as Webster or Clay or Sumner, would deliver the words which these men had uttered in the Senate chamber. He became fired with the desire to enter politics; his pursuit of legal knowledge was, to him, only a means to that end. He also became determined to become a successful speaker, for that seemed to be the surest way to political fame. In all this, with the exception of his slighting of his study of law, he was encouraged by his uncle, who was himself a prominent political figure and orator.³²

The political campaign of 1876 undoubtedly contributed much to strengthen Dolliver's growing ambitions to become a popular speaker and to enter politics. That summer he traveled down the Ohio River to Cin-

Registers of West Virginia University. He graduated third in a class of seven, *Morgantown Post*, May 29, 1875. In 1878, upon his admittance to the bar, he was granted an M. A. degree, *West Virginia University Catalog, 1878-1879*, 8.

³⁰ Dolliver once gave the following statement regarding his reasons for deciding to study law: "A father sued the University [West Virginia] for \$15,000, because of the expulsion of his son. The oratory I heard at the trial decided my course in life. Besides, there were several lawyers among my mother's relatives." Interview in *Washington Herald*, Oct. 16, 1910.

³¹ The *Morgantown Post* noted his departure for Victor Center in the issue of Oct. 2, 1875. He was accompanied to Illinois by his brother, Robert, who was also a graduate of the class of '75. The fact that the boys had relatives in the vicinity of Sandwich accounts for their selection of that territory. They lived with their aunt, Mrs. Maria Van Fleet, the sister of their father. Note in *Sandwich Gazette*, undated clipping in *Dolliver Papers*.

³² The above paragraph is based largely upon an interview with J. M. Guy Brown, the son of John J. Brown, Aug. 17, 1944. The elder Mr. Brown often recalled to his son the activities and ambitions of Dolliver during this period.

cinnati to attend the Republican National Convention. Here he listened to the oratory of president-making and heard Ingersoll place in nomination "that prince of parliamentarians, that leader of leaders — James G. Blaine." In Dolliver's words, "I went back to my home full of new joys and fresh noise." With the aid of John J. Brown, he was soon listed among the Republican campaign speakers. His first efforts proved successful enough to bring his selection to address a rally with Senator W. T. Willey from the steps of the Morgantown courthouse. This was his first important political address. He later recalled that, "I was outwardly calm when I faced the multitude, but I was charged with grape and canister within."³³ The speech contained little more than witty attacks upon the Democratic party, with a liberal display of the traditional "bloody shirt," but it was received with marked approval by the partisan crowd. The Morgantown *Post* enthusiastically reported:

Mr. Willey was followed by J. P. Dolliver, Esq., one of the ablest stump speakers, we venture to say, of his age in the state. Mr. Dolliver made a most excellent speech. He has an admirable voice for public speaking and his manner was free and easy. He made a masterly charge upon the enemy, and was loudly applauded during his scathing review of the Negro-massacring Democratic party. . . ."

As the campaign progressed, the *Post* referred to him often as "the young Demosthenes."³⁴

When he went to Sandwich, Illinois, in the winter of 1877-1878, his speech-making continued. He became president of the Sandwich chapter of the "Red Ribboned Temperance Movement," and he delivered many lectures, depicting the evils of drink, in surrounding villages. One of his experiences he described to his mother: "On last Tuesday night I was called out by about 500 people, without notice or any regular preparation. I never had such an enthusiastic call for my services as a haranguer. I have taken pains to fill my head with the temperance question and I found no difficulty in making a speech."³⁵ The Dolliver Papers contain a eulogy

³³ Interview in *Washington Herald*, Oct. 16, 1910.

³⁴ *Morgantown Post*, Sept. 2, Oct. 7, 1876. The manuscript of the speech is in the *Dolliver Papers*.

³⁵ Letter of Jan. 19, 1878, from Dolliver to his mother. His lectures on temperance and his successes are also mentioned in letters of C. M. Van Fleet to James J. Dolliver, n.d., and of Robert Dolliver to Victor Dolliver, March 17, 1878.

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which he delivered on the death of a colleague of the Sandwich High School, and many years later one of his students recalled an address on Lincoln which Dolliver delivered at the conclusion of the school term.³⁶

Thus, during the years of Dolliver's legal study, he not only developed an interest in political life and a determination to improve as a speaker, but he entered his first campaign and began actively to seek opportunities for public appearances. The extent to which the study of law itself influenced his speaking cannot be positively stated. However, in comparison with his college orations, his early speeches in Iowa exhibited a marked improvement in organization. It is not improbable that this change was due, at least in part, to the demands for nice partition and clear statement of issues imposed by legal briefing.

In the spring of 1878, the Dolliver brothers, Jonathan and Robert, prepared to journey to Fort Dodge, which they had chosen as a likely spot for young lawyers. Dolliver's uncle and legal tutor predicted with amazing accuracy: ". . . I have no doubt, if Prent has his health, he will be a Representative in the Congress of the United States before ten years. He is perfectly irrepressible. The whole world cannot keep him down."³⁷

While competent as a lawyer, Dolliver was not especially successful, and the success he did achieve came to him very slowly. After he was admitted to the Iowa bar, he found cases difficult to secure. Times were critical for the Dolliver brothers, and strict economy was a necessity.³⁸ In 1880, as a reward for his effective political speaking, Jonathan Dolliver was elected city solicitor of Fort Dodge, a post which he held until 1888.³⁹ But it was

³⁶ E. D. Brigham to Dolliver, Sept. 22, 1900. Geo. E. Roberts, in interview of Feb. 9, 1946, said that the brothers chose Iowa because it was a well populated state but still had few enough people to afford ample opportunities for young lawyers, and that they selected Fort Dodge because it was near enough to the capital and its political contacts, but also far enough away to avoid competition with the well established lawyers in Des Moines. Dolliver wrote his parents, Dec. 9, 1877: "We have not settled on a place yet, but we *think* Fort Dodge in Iowa is the most eligible spot."

³⁷ John J. Brown to Mrs. James J. Dolliver, March 11, 1878.

³⁸ His certificate was given April 5, 1878. The first advertisement of the Dolliver Brothers Law Firm appeared in the Fort Dodge *Webster County Gazette*, April 26, 1878. After the brothers had furnished an office, which also served as living quarters, they had but twenty dollars on hand. Robert Dolliver to James J. Dolliver, April 22, 1878. The early correspondence shows that Dolliver was never financially secure or out of debt from 1878 to 1882.

³⁹ He was nominated after an exciting caucus contest with the Republican incumbent, A. F. Meservy, by a vote of 116 to 93. Meservy bolted to the Democrats but

not until 1883 that he could write: "I am very busy and make all the money we need — though luxuries are not within our reach."⁴⁰

Dolliver did not gain a reputation as a skilled lawyer or jury speaker. His duties as solicitor and his private practice failed to give him many opportunities to speak in court. Most of his labors, the correspondence shows, were the routine drawing up of contracts and deeds, collecting unpaid bills and notes, and settling insurance claims. The pleas which he did deliver before juries cannot be considered important contributions to forensic oratory. The manuscripts available show that he was more concerned with entertainment and emotional appeals than with the evidence and issues at stake. Johnson Brigham confirms these impressions when he relates that once, obviously uninformed on a point at issue, Dolliver evaded the searching questions of the Judges of the Iowa Supreme Court by telling humorous stories.⁴¹

He did achieve some successes as a lawyer, however, and he was retained in some of the more important cases in northwest Iowa. In 1882 he was appointed to assist the Attorney General in the prosecution of a murder case. He opened the argument for the prosecution, and the defendant was convicted. In 1884 the Fort Dodge *Messenger* reported that "J. P. Dolliver waxed barrister Duncombe beautifully in a war of words in court at Rockwell last week." He was retained, with several colleagues, as counsel for the defense in the rather sensational "Porter Murder Case," in 1887. He closed the argument, and the *Messenger* stated: "The effort was alike creditable to his reputation as a public speaker and the cause he had at heart."⁴²

Despite these successes, his failure to achieve eminence as a lawyer is largely explained by the fact that he was never really interested in practicing

lost the election to Dolliver by twelve votes. Fort Dodge *Webster County Gazette*, Feb. 20, 27, March 5, 1880. In 1882 Dolliver was unopposed for re-election, Fort Dodge *Messenger*, March 10, 1882. In 1884 he defeated G. T. Peterson, 487 to 395, *ibid.*, March 6, 1884. In 1886 he was elected over J. B. Butler, 516 to 297, *ibid.*, March 4, 1886. His salary as solicitor was \$200 a year according to the mayor's budget, *ibid.*, April 17, 1884.

⁴⁰ Dolliver to Mary Dolliver, Jan. 23, 1883. His brother withdrew from the partnership in 1880 to enter the ministry. In 1881 Dolliver brought his family from West Virginia to live with him in Fort Dodge.

⁴¹ Johnson Brigham, *Iowa: Its History and Foremost Citizens*, (2 vols., Des Moines, 1918), 2:635.

⁴² Fort Dodge *Messenger*, Oct. 13, 1882; Feb. 21, 1884; March 31, 1887.

ing law. He regarded it as a temporary means of securing a livelihood while he was preparing to enter public life. From the time Dolliver first moved to Fort Dodge, his chief ambitions related to politics and public speaking; as his reputation as an effective orator grew, his interest in legal practice declined.⁴³ When he entered Congress, in 1888, he closed his law offices and never reopened them or appeared again in court to plead a case.

His legal practice did, of course, furnish him with further opportunities to speak in public, and it may have contributed to his improved methods of speech arrangement. All in all, however, his forensic speeches contributed little to his reputation as a speaker. It was, rather, the other way around — his law business increased as knowledge of his successes on the political platform became widespread.

But if the early years in Fort Dodge found Dolliver with much time on his hands, the hours were not spent in idleness. With his brother at first, and later by himself, he entered upon a program of reading and study that was to leave lasting imprints upon his speech-making. Almost every letter to their home expressed the determination of the Dolliver brothers to increase their knowledge by reading.⁴⁴ Even in the summer of 1878, when their finances were at the lowest point, the brothers scraped together one hundred dollars for books. In 1879 Dolliver declared: "Have bought some books lately — must have books if we have to live on corn-cob soup till blackberry time." In 1880 he wrote: "As to books, you ought to see my library. I am sitting now in a room three sides of which are piled with books. Every week puts new volumes on my shelves. . . . My den is the dearest place on earth to me except your roof. . . ." ⁴⁵

The nature of his ambitious study program was outlined in a letter written in 1879:

Each day between 7 A. M. and 6 P. M. we study law and our cases. On Monday evening from 7-8, exercise and "visiting," from 8-9, young people's meeting at the Church . . . , from 9 — Shakespeare. Tuesday evening Greek grammar and Plato's *Apol-*

⁴³ Interviews with George E. Roberts, Feb. 9, 1946; D. M. Kelleher, Aug. 5, 1944; J. H. Mitchell, Fort Dodge, Aug. 4, 1944; B. L. Wick, Cedar Rapids, Sept. 8, 1945.

⁴⁴ For example: "We are not doing much paying business. We are rather preparing for business by diligent study. We have not been as successful in getting before the people as we might have been. We have preferred to 'lay low' and steadily prepare." Dolliver to his mother, March 24, 1879.

⁴⁵ Dolliver to Mary and Margaret Gay Dolliver, Oct. 26, 1878; to Mary Dolliver, Jan. 13, 1879; to his mother, Nov. 13, 1880.

ogy and other Greek literature. Wednesday evening, Latin grammar and literature. Thursday evening, from 8-9, prayer meeting at Church, from 9-10, Sunday School Teachers' meeting, from 10—Milton (Par. Lost). Friday evening, history. Saturday night, politics. Sunday, the Bible. We have a busy time.⁴⁶

Of course, the fun loving, genial, gregarious Dolliver could not and did not rigidly adhere to such a strict program. He spent much time on the courthouse steps and in the *Messenger* office, chatting, telling stories, and discussing politics with all who came by. But still, many hours were spent with books, and he could, no doubt, truthfully write: "I have learned more this year by study than I ever learned before in a year—in school or out."⁴⁷

Much of Dolliver's reading was in Greek, Latin, French, and English classics, as well as in history and oratory.⁴⁸ He once declared in a debate on the merits of classical education:

I am a firm believer in classical learning. To me there is a taste about ancient books that is as sweet as the consolations of religion. The saddest feeling of life to me today is the sense of business that is slowly crowding [out] the hours of recreation with the old poets and orators and philosophers and prophets. . . .⁴⁹

His advice to his sisters, as they entered college, was: "You will find that English literature is the important study. In your reading I want you to be careful to read only classics. You will find in the use of language, in the mastery of English style, the old poets are the best. . . ." His letters contain many references to his reading. The Bible, Shakespeare, Burns, and Tennyson were frequently mentioned. In 1881, he wrote, "In the afternoon I locked my door and read Carlyle. . . . I am a confirmed lover of Carlyle."⁵⁰

The nature and wide scope of his reading was shown by the allusions in his speeches of the period. A lecture entitled "Wine Among the Poets" contained references to or quotations from the works of Anacreon, Homer,

⁴⁶ Dolliver to Victor Dolliver, May 13, 1879.

⁴⁷ Interview with George E. Roberts, Feb. 9, 1946; Dolliver to Victor Dolliver, Nov. 3, 1878.

⁴⁸ "He read widely, especially biographies and orations of famous men." Letter from George E. Roberts to author, March 6, 1946.

⁴⁹ Delivered before the Fort Dodge Literary Society, March, 1882. Manuscript is in *Dolliver Papers*.

⁵⁰ Letters of Dolliver to Mary and Margaret Gay Dolliver, Sept. 22, 1878; and to Mary Dolliver, April 11, 1881.

Horace, Shakespeare, Burns, Byron, Whittier, and, of course, the Bible. In an essay on Carlyle there were references to Homer, Zeno, Epicurus, Shakespeare, Goethe, Schiller, Herbert Spencer, Emerson, Lowell, and the Bible. And in the debate on the classics, referred to above, he alluded to Aristotle, Plato, Cicero, Shakespeare, Bacon, Carlyle, Tennyson, Burns, Whittier, Longfellow, Burke, Fox, Chatham, Macaulay, John Quincy Adams, Webster, Sumner, Gladstone, and the Bible.⁵¹

Dolliver read the classics with the definite view of culling ideas, phrases, and stylistic effects for his public speeches. When he found a phrase or paragraph that pleased him, he would paraphrase it, "making it his own, but retaining the flavor of the original."⁵² His practice was reflected in the advice he gave his sisters: "Read [the classics] studiously, remembering and laying up intelligently all those fine turned sentiments of which so great use is made by our best writers. Get the masterpiece of each and put it among your mental resources."⁵³ A small notebook, originally intended as an account book, served for some of his reading notes. In it he recorded bits from his readings, together with random jottings of his own thoughts. One of the most interesting sections, apparently to be used in his jury pleas, was headed, "Philosophy of Evidence, Illustrated by Quotations from Shakespeare." Dolliver once told E. H. Hubbard, Iowa Congressman, that as a young man he often copied out striking paragraphs from classical literature, pinned them on the walls of his room, and memorized them as he went about his daily tasks.⁵⁴

Aside from classical literature, Dolliver gave much attention to history and contemporary politics. In 1880 he wrote: "I have all the *Congressional Records* from 1850 to 1880. . . . I have secured all the public documents, the reports of all Congressional committees, the reports of commercial relations; a perfect record of American politics for more than twenty years."⁵⁵

Thus, Dolliver sought among volumes of classical literature, oratory,

⁵¹ The manuscripts of these speeches are in the *Dolliver Papers*.

⁵² Interview with D. M. Kelleher, Aug. 5, 1944.

⁵³ Dolliver to Mary and Margaret Gay Dolliver, Sept. 22, 1878.

⁵⁴ *Jonathan Prentiss Dolliver . . . Memorial Addresses . . . Sixty-first Congress, Third Session* (Washington, 1911), 75-6. This practice was confirmed by George E. Roberts, interview at Larchmont, N. Y., Feb. 9, 1946. See also, Erik M. Eriksson, "A Tribune of the People," *The Palimpsest*, 5:37 (February, 1924).

⁵⁵ Dolliver to his mother, Nov. 13, 1880.

philosophy, history, and politics the best expression of the ideas which he hoped to utter himself. By diligent application he continued his studies along the lines established by his college education. Such a program of wide reading, directed specifically toward improving his speaking, could not fail to influence his thinking and style to a marked degree.

In December, 1880, Dolliver helped organize a Fort Dodge Literary Society. Although this organization was sponsored by the Methodist Church, members of all faiths were welcomed to the meetings which were held every two weeks in the church parlors. Programs, usually consisting of debates, were followed by general discussion. Sometimes essays were read and discussed; occasionally a program of poetry reading was included. Later, in 1882, the Society adopted the idea of a legislative assembly, with individuals representing the various states and debating the issues of the day.⁵⁶ The new organization proved popular and successful.

Since Dolliver was constantly seeking opportunities to speak, both to gain more practice and to extend his reputation, it was only natural that he should take a prominent part in the activities of the Society. He participated in many debates and contributed several essays. The debates before the Society were not judged, but Dolliver was apparently more successful than he had been in his college contests. One auditor wrote, after a debate, that "J. P. carried off the palm as usual." After the discussion on the value of the classics in education, the Fort Dodge *Messenger* reported:

The speech of the evening was undoubtedly Mr. Dolliver's, whose "worn and obedient tonsils" (to use his own words) have so often enlivened the lyceum. Mr. D. has the power of making the dullest subject interesting and of investing the most uninviting subject with the charm of beautiful words and an eloquent style. To use the words of a glowing critic of last evening, if he continues to improve, he "will weave from the genius of his own brain the robes of immortality."⁵⁷

Thus, in the Society which he helped found, Dolliver found opportunities to continue his speaking and to improve his methods. Direct effects cannot be safely established, but it is apparent that his activities in the Literary Society contributed much to his growing abilities as a speaker.

⁵⁶ Dolliver to Margaret Gay Dolliver, Dec. 6, 1880. The Society was sometimes referred to as "the Lyceum" both in Dolliver's letters and in newspaper reports. Fort Dodge *Messenger*, Oct. 6, 1882.

⁵⁷ Flora B. Ingersoll to Victor Dolliver, Sept. 14, 1881; Fort Dodge *Messenger*, March 24, 1882.

Although making a living was Dolliver's immediate objective when he reached Fort Dodge, his ultimate ambition was to enter political life. He proposed to achieve both goals by becoming proficient in public speaking and by gaining a reputation for eloquence.⁵⁸ His own ambitions were stated when he wrote his younger brother: "Let me exhort you to become a fluent and attractive orator. It is the best hold a man can get in the world. It is the sure forerunner of influence among men. You want to become an exceptional speaker. The world is full of wheezers. You must become an orator. Practice and study."⁵⁹ His desire to gain recognition by speaking was also shown when he wrote: "The judge [Robert Dolliver] and I are asked to enter the campaign and it is not impossible that we may make money and reputation." After the brothers had achieved some successes in the campaign of 1879, he declared: "I am gratified at our success as public speakers. . . . It is a certain claim on the public that can be made to pan out. . . . I propose to make a strike for a more extensive repute next year." His desire for opportunities to practice was indicated when he wrote: "I am learning the art of public speaking at the expense of the unsuspecting natives."⁶⁰

With Iowa holding an election every year, the opportunities which he sought came to him quickly. The year 1878 brought a bitter contest to northwest Iowa's "Big Ninth" District. The issue was currency, and the Greenback party, in alliance with the Democrats, was determined to elect a Congressman who would vote against the resumption of specie payments in 1879. Webster County was particularly uncertain in the territory that has always been safely Republican, and the offer of the Dolliver brothers to take the stump for ex-Governor Cyrus C. Carpenter, the Republican Congressional candidate, was immediately accepted. Dolliver's efforts were confined to Webster County. He traveled the "school house" circuit, advocating specie-backed currency and refighting the Civil War. He made no distinction in his arguments between gold or silver backing for American currency, but the research which he found necessary for this campaign stood him in good stead when silver became the issue of 1896.⁶¹

The local paper made no reference to Dolliver's speaking, other than to

⁵⁸ Interview with George E. Roberts, Feb. 9, 1946.

⁵⁹ Dolliver to Victor Dolliver, Nov. 3, 1878.

⁶⁰ Letters of Dolliver to Margaret Gay Dolliver, July 14, 1879; to Mary Dolliver, Nov. 11, 1879; to Victor Dolliver, May 13, 1879.

⁶¹ Brigham, *Iowa: Its History and Foremost Citizens*, 2:625.

announce the dates on his schedule; but he was successful enough to attract the favorable attention of Governor Carpenter himself. They soon were close friends and the former Governor became a sort of political mentor to him. Dolliver wrote triumphantly: "We will elect Gov. Carpenter. . . . He is a good friend and helper of ours and will do us good services in the future. We have made friends . . . with the best men of the section." Ultimately Carpenter helped to lift Dolliver into the House of Representatives.⁶²

In the winter of 1878-1879 Dolliver took to the lecture platform to continue his efforts to gain a reputation as a speaker. His lecture concerned temperance, and he stated, "It is for advertisement and nothing else much. It fits that bill."⁶³ His choice of subject matter reveals that he was cognizant of audience reaction, for sentiment for prohibition was rising in Iowa. The address was well received. The *Manson Journal* declared: "All present were highly pleased with the subject matter and arguments of the address, and were especially pleased and electrified by the language and manner of the speaker." The *Algona Republican* observed: "The speaker is but a young man and he looks like a mere boy on the platform, but his manner is good and his thought mature, indicating a generous culture and talents which ought to give him a high position in the years to come."⁶⁴

⁶² Dolliver to Mary and Margaret Gay Dolliver, Oct. 7, 1878. Carpenter was elected to Congress in 1878 and 1880. In 1882 Iowa was redistricted, and the "Big Ninth" became the "Big Tenth," losing many counties in the west and adding others from the east. The result was the nomination and election of Major A. J. Holmes in 1882 and 1884. In 1886 there was considerable sentiment to send the former Governor back to Congress, but Carpenter refused all offers and issued a public statement asking all who would support him to vote for Dolliver. *Fort Dodge Messenger*, May 13, 1886. Carpenter, together with George E. Roberts, led the Webster County delegation to the convention in Algona where he served as the Dolliver floor leader. Dolliver was defeated, but in 1888, when he was successful, the Governor was again on hand to help Roberts guide the Dolliver forces. Letter from George E. Roberts to writer, July 12, 1945. See also, article by F. W. Bicknell in *Marshalltown Times-Republican*, June 16, 1898, and Jacob Van Ek, "Two District Conventions," *The Palimpsest*, 5:47-59 (February, 1924). Dolliver rewarded Carpenter by making him postmaster of Fort Dodge, and he appointed Mrs. Carpenter to the position when her husband died. Dolliver's deep regard and affection for the Governor was displayed in the eulogy which he published in 1898. See J. P. Dolliver, "Ex-Governor Cyrus C. Carpenter," *Midland Monthly*, 10:75-81 (July, 1898).

⁶³ Dolliver to his father, Feb. 24, 1879.

⁶⁴ Fort Dodge *Webster County Gazette*, Jan. 31, Feb. 14, 1879. The lecture was also delivered before the West Side Reform Club of Des Moines, his first speech in that city. *Ibid.*, Apr. 27, 1879.

On July 4, 1879, Dolliver delivered an oration at Jefferson which brought him welcomed publicity. The *Jefferson Bee* characterized the speech as "one of the grandest probably delivered in the state on that day," and added that the speaker was "a young orator of unusual eloquence and brilliance." A shorthand reporter transcribed the speech and the *Bee* printed it in full. Dolliver exclaimed: "I never had so fine a time. . . . It was a lucky strike for me."⁶⁵

In 1879 Iowa elected a governor, and the Greenback-Democratic coalition was still formidable opposition to the Republicans. Dolliver offered his services as a stumper to the State Central Committee, but, still relatively unknown, he was turned down.⁶⁶ Nevertheless, he entered the campaign in Webster County and the Ninth District, and soon the newspapers were printing glowing reports of his meetings. After a speech at Jefferson, the *Bee* declared: "He has made a host of friends and stiffened up the Republicans amazingly since his advent among us. . . ." The *Fort Dodge Webster County Gazette* reported: "J. P. Dolliver is in demand this Fall. . . . He is one of the most effective speakers in the state." One of his greatest triumphs was achieved in a joint debate with a leading Greenbacker at Lehigh, a coal mining town near Fort Dodge where the reform party was very strong. The *Gazette* announced that: ". . . J. P. did himself proud and walked away with the spoils. Half a dozen of the Greenback boys . . . walked up like little men and joined the old guard."⁶⁷ The high point of the campaign for Dolliver was the rally in Fort Dodge which he addressed with Governor Carpenter. His speech was received with enthusiasm by a large audience, and the *Gazette* praised his efforts highly:

Mr. J. P. Dolliver . . . for an hour held a most delightful audience with one of the most brilliant addresses ever delivered in this city. The people were eager to hear him, expected a great deal and were not disappointed. He is today one of the most effective stump speakers in Iowa. . . . His work in this campaign has done as much, perhaps more, to inspire Republican effort and puncture the soft money bubble as that of any other man.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, July 18, 1879; Dolliver to Margaret Gay Dolliver, July 14, 1879.

⁶⁶ J. S. Runnells to Dolliver, Sept. 8, 1879.

⁶⁷ *Jefferson Bee*, undated clippings in *Dolliver Papers*, *Fort Dodge Webster County Gazette*, Sept. 19, 26, 1879. On Sept. 15 Dolliver addressed a rally at "Daniel's School House." The *Gazette* reported: "J. P. made a splendid speech and a good Republican club was organized right where last year the party scarcely wiggled." *Ibid.*, Sept. 18, 1879.

⁶⁸ *Fort Dodge Webster County Gazette*, Oct. 15, 1879.

Governor Carpenter wrote Dolliver's parents that their son had "spoken several times with me, and so far as everything like oratory is concerned, he carried off the palm every time. . . . [He] is a natural born orator. I have never seen his superior."⁶⁹ The Republican party carried Webster County, the Greenback party never made another campaign in the county, and "most of the credit for this result was due to Dolliver."⁷⁰

Dolliver attended the Republican National Convention as a spectator in 1880, and then returned to Iowa to campaign for Garfield and Arthur. His abilities as a speaker were becoming recognized, for this time the State Central Committee invited him to speak under its auspices.⁷¹ Again he received favorable press notices. The *Scranton Journal* said: "Although young in years, but few men in the state can equal . . . him as an orator. . . . We predict that Mr. Dolliver is the coming man of northwestern Iowa." The *Sac City Sun* remarked: "When stripped of some of his stage effects he will become one of the most effective orators in the West."⁷² His address at Fort Dodge met his expectations, for he wrote: "My meeting at Fort Dodge was a most successful affair. The Opera House, holding 800 people, was packed. And I succeeded in doing what I aimed to do — that is, establishing my reputation as a public speaker in my home town."⁷³ At the close of the campaign, the *Des Moines Iowa State Register* termed him "the young man eloquent," and from the State Central Committee came a letter saying, "Your services to the party . . . were signally successful, and the most flattering reports have followed your meetings."⁷⁴

Spurred by his successes, Dolliver again took to the lecture platform. In the winter of 1879-1880, he had presented "Wine Among the Poets" several times. In July, 1880, he was invited to appear on the assembly program at Clear Lake. For this occasion he prepared a new lecture, "The Basis of Equal Rights Among Men." The argument was for equal political and economic treatment of the poor, women, and Negroes. The Fort

⁶⁹ C. C. Carpenter to Mr. and Mrs. James J. Dolliver, Oct. 21, 1879.

⁷⁰ Letter from George E. Roberts to writer, July 12, 1945. The manuscript of the speech which Dolliver used in the campaign is in the *Dolliver Papers*. Much of it is so aged as to be illegible.

⁷¹ Fort Dodge *Messenger*, Oct. 8, 1880.

⁷² Both quotations are from clippings in the *Dolliver Papers*.

⁷³ Dolliver to his father, Oct. 14, 1880.

⁷⁴ *Des Moines Iowa State Register*, Oct. 19, 1880; Albert Swalm to Dolliver, Nov. 6, 1880.

Dodge *Messenger* maintained that: "It was unanimously pronounced the best thing on the course. . . ." Dolliver was himself elated with the results:

. . . Though I say it myself, its success was "immense." I lectured for two hours without a note and without a joke and my audience insisted so urgently that I "go on" that I was compelled to fill in at the end with all that I knew and some things I could not "swear to." I regard these "few practical remarks" as the most beneficial move I have made in the West.⁷⁵

When his offices and library were destroyed by fire in October, 1880, he used his new lecture as a means of making money to replace his losses. In January, 1881, he presented it in the Fifth Street Methodist Church of Des Moines. A reporter declared: "At times his portrayal of the wrongs of the weak and oppressed was beautiful; so much so that he held his audience of 300 people without any disposition to grow weary for nearly an hour."⁷⁶ In 1881 he wrote another lecture, "Public Virtue as a Question of Politics." His theme was based on Burke's dictum that "religion is the basis of civil society." It was first delivered at Clear Lake in August and was repeated many times in the following years. He was still using it when he entered the Chautauqua circuits in 1898.

In 1881 Dolliver's reputation as a speaker had become widespread enough for politicians seeking important positions to request his aid. William Larrabee sought his support for the gubernatorial nomination, and James F. Wilson and John H. Gear both asked his endorsement of their candidacies for the United States Senate.⁷⁷ His growing stature was also reflected in the attitude of his neighbors toward him. When Mary Dolliver came to Fort Dodge in 1881, she wrote home: "It's wonderful the way the people hand Prent around. If he were President, there could not be more fuss made over him."⁷⁸

The summer of 1882 brought still further triumphs to the rising young orator. In June he made several speeches favoring the adoption of a prohibition amendment to the Constitution of Iowa. Reports were once again

⁷⁵ Dolliver to Mary Dolliver, Aug. 1, 1880; Fort Dodge *Messenger*, July 23, 1880; manuscript of speech is in *Dolliver Papers*.

⁷⁶ Des Moines *Iowa State Register*, Jan. 9, 1881. He also delivered this lecture, charging twenty-five cents admission, at Jefferson, Webster City, and Manson.

⁷⁷ Larrabee to Dolliver, March 1, 1881; Wilson to Dolliver, April 5, 1881; Gear to Dolliver, May 9, 1881. Dolliver backed the candidacies of Larrabee and Wilson — facts that were to help him politically in later years.

⁷⁸ Mary Dolliver to Margaret Gay Dolliver, Aug. 30, 1881.

laudatory. One read: ". . . Mr. Dolliver entertained the audience intelligently, and as a fluent speaker, maintained the reputation that preceded him." Even a Democratic paper remarked: "Though we cannot always agree with what he says . . . we must admire his powers as a speaker."⁷⁹

Dolliver was sent as an alternate delegate to the Republican State Convention in August, 1882. Here he placed Gilbert B. Pray in nomination for clerk of the Supreme Court. The speech was very brief, about two minutes in length, and was designed to point up the loyalty of northwestern Iowa to the Republican party. Despite its brevity, the speech created great enthusiasm in the convention and did much to give him the statewide reputation which he sought. The Des Moines *Iowa State Leader* said he delivered "a forceful speech which stirred up the boys to one genuine hurrah." The Webster City *Hamilton Freeman* reported that: "He literally took the convention by storm, creating a furor and awakening an enthusiasm that brought scores of votes to the worthy young candidate of northwestern Iowa."⁸⁰ The leaders of the party heard him for the first time, and his brief speech played its part in securing for him the invitation to be temporary chairman of the convention in 1884.

In October, 1882, he accepted an invitation to campaign for Congressional nominees in eastern Iowa.⁸¹ He delivered speeches in Grinnell, Mount Pleasant, Oskaloosa, Washington, Colfax, Brooklyn, and Waterloo. His tour was "markedly successful," and he had "the making of one of the nation's leading men."⁸²

His great opportunity to achieve his goal of fame through oratory came in the summer of 1884, when he was selected to serve as temporary chairman of the Republican State Convention and to deliver the "key-note" address. The Republican party in Iowa was dominated in those days by James S. Clarkson, editor of the powerful Des Moines *Iowa State Register*.⁸³ The national convention had already nominated James G. Blaine for

⁷⁹ LeMars correspondent in the *Sioux City Journal*, reprinted in the *Fort Dodge Messenger*, June 23, 1882; *Dayton Review*, June 30, 1882, reprinted in *Fort Dodge Messenger*, July 7, 1882.

⁸⁰ *Fort Dodge Messenger*, Aug. 4, 1882; *Webster City Hamilton Freeman*, Aug. 9, 1882; *Des Moines Iowa State Leader*, Aug. 2, 1882. The *Fort Dodge Messenger* printed similar excerpts from papers all over Iowa, Aug. 18, 1882.

⁸¹ Albert Swalm to Dolliver, Sept. 10, 1882.

⁸² *Oskaloosa Herald* and *Brooklyn Chronicle*, as quoted in *Fort Dodge Messenger*, Nov. 2, 1882.

⁸³ Clarkson, together with Senator Wm. B. Allison, practically dictated party plat-

the presidency, and Clarkson was seeking a temporary chairman who could, at the outset of the convention, whip up considerable enthusiasm for the G. O. P. candidate. He had heard Dolliver in the 1882 convention, so he went to Governor Carpenter and inquired about the young orator. Carpenter replied that no mistake would be made if Dolliver was chosen, and the invitation was issued.⁸⁴

Realizing that this was his long awaited chance, Dolliver wrote and re-wrote his speech and spent many days rehearsing it in the woods near Fort Dodge. He appeared before the convention without a note, however, and delivered his memorized sentences with the spontaneity of an extempore speech.⁸⁵ The address was ideally framed to serve Clarkson's purposes. Dolliver praised the Republican party of Iowa; he praised James G. Blaine; he refought the Civil War; and he ridiculed the Democrats. His statements were punctuated with witticisms that brought delighted howls from the crowd. Typical sallies were:

. . . A Democrat has not been seen on the streets of an Iowa city on election nights for a quarter of a century. The music of the telegraph office has been their annual elegy of grief. They . . . accept the first half of Franklin's maxim, "early to bed," when the returns are coming in. . . .

Four years ago [Cleveland's] name could have prudently been used as an alias under which to travel incognito all over the known world outside of Buffalo. To elect him President would be like lending money to a stranger on the train. . . . I thank God that we belong to a party that saves the crowns of its public honor for the brow of its actual leadership. With the Democratic party nominations are made not so much to represent the party as to disguise it. . . .

All the important Democratic principles are unfit for use. They have been left out in the field just where they were last used . . . in sun and rain, until rot and rust have done their fatal work. . . .

You might as well try to fit the hundred-headed dog of the ancient fable with a straw hat as to place a candid and intelligible tariff platform under the feet of the Democratic party. They approach the question, and nearly every other, like a man emptying

forms, policies, and candidates for many years. See Cyrenus Cole, *Iowa Through the Years* (Iowa City, 1940), 343.

⁸⁴ Letter from George E. Roberts to author, July 12, 1945.

⁸⁵ There are three different drafts of his address in the *Dolliver Papers*. See also Cyrenus Cole, *I Remember, I Remember* . . . (Iowa City, 1936), 114.

hard coal ashes in a high wind — with their eyes shut and their backs to the subject. . . .

This campaign will last long enough to show every sensible man's eyes that no possible combination of tight pants and hay fever can defeat the anxious will of the real conscience of this country, the Republican millions of America. . . .

Called to defend the national unity, the Republican party out of the chaos of civil strife has guaranteed to posterity an undivided country. Called to protect public liberty, the Republican party, finding the slave power on all thrones of office and opinion, left it smitten to death on the field of battle without a civilized friend in the world. Called to restore the fallen fortunes of trade and industry, the Republican party has put a shield before the homes of American labor and put sound blood into the veins of American business. Called to maintain the commercial good name of the nation, the Republican party has steadily exalted the public faith and left it permanently secure from the fallacy of manias and the threat of demagogues. In the face of that record, the marvel is not that the Democratic party fails — but that it exists.⁸⁶

Whatever may be said about the accuracy or logic of these statements, it cannot be denied that they were received with wild enthusiasm by the partisans of the convention. The *Des Moines Register* described the scene: "During the address there was almost continual cheering. His splendid tribute to Blaine was cheered to the echo, many of the delegates swinging hats and handkerchiefs and standing up to express their delight in repeated cheers."⁸⁷ By coincidence, Albert J. Beveridge, selling books that summer in Iowa, was in the audience. Years afterward he recalled his reaction: "I went to that convention, and standing on the outskirts of the crowd . . . listened in wonder to this amazing address."⁸⁸

Clarkson, through his membership in the Associated Press, telegraphed the speech throughout the country. The Republican press was delighted, and approving editorials and the speech itself appeared in the newspapers of Iowa and other states. The *Fort Dodge Messenger* printed many of these editorials and summarized:

⁸⁶ *Des Moines Iowa State Register*, Aug. 21, 1884.

⁸⁷ *Idem*.

⁸⁸ Jonathan Prentiss Dolliver . . . *Memorial Addresses* . . . , 24. Claude G. Bowers credits this speech with further reinforcing Beveridge's determination to become a notable orator. *Beveridge and the Progressive Era* (New York, 1932), 21.

Mr. Dolliver's speech . . . has been complimented by republication in all the leading party papers of the state, which have been profuse in their commendation of it and its author. It is generally pronounced one of the ablest political speeches ever delivered in Iowa, and it places Mr. Dolliver at once in the front rank of campaign orators. We at home have long recognized his abilities as a speaker, and he now bids fair to win something more than a state reputation in this particular line.⁸⁹

Clarkson, the political "boss," immediately took Dolliver in hand. Through his influence as Iowa's member of the Republican National Committee, Clarkson secured an invitation for his young protege to stump in the East under the auspices of the Committee. Dolliver spent six weeks on his tour, speaking in New York, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, New Jersey, and Ohio. He traveled part of the time on Blaine's special train, and he addressed the Union League Club of Philadelphia with the presidential candidate.⁹⁰ Clarkson arranged a special press service to the *Messenger* and the *Register* to keep the people informed on the doings of their new-found orator. This service wired many reports from eastern newspapers. The *Newark Call*, a Democratic paper, ridiculed Dolliver's arguments, but admitted: "The Iowa orator has a delightfully refreshing style of delivery, his ideas are original and captivating. . . ." The *Utica Tribune* declared: "J. P. Dolliver is the oratorical revelation of 1884." The *Norwich, Connecticut, Daily Bulletin* reported: "It was throughout eloquent, vivid, epigrammatic. . . . The meeting broke up amid enthusiastic cheering." The *Jamestown, New York, Evening Journal* maintained that "J. P. Dolliver delivered the best speech of the campaign. . . ," and the *Philadelphia Press* observed: "He speaks from conviction, and, with his epigrams and funny comparisons, carries his audience where he pleases."⁹¹ Clarkson joyfully reported from the national headquarters in New York: "Dolliver has completely captured the East. . . . It is impossible for the national committee

⁸⁹ Fort Dodge *Messenger*, Aug. 28, 1884. The *Chicago Tribune*, for example, printed most of the text, as did the paper of his former hometown, the *Morgantown Post*.

⁹⁰ Letter from George E. Roberts to author, July 12, 1945. The announcement of Dolliver's invitation was published in the *Fort Dodge Messenger*, Sept. 4, 1884. An article in the *Fort Dodge Messenger*, Sept. 25, 1884, also reported that: "Blaine, who has taken a great liking to him, introduced him to a knot of distinguished men at his room today, as 'the young Iowa orator who is showering the land with epigrams,' and the whole room cheered. . . ."

⁹¹ All quotations from *Fort Dodge Messenger*, Oct. 2, 30, 1884.

to resist the demands for him. We have fifty applications for him to one for anyone else. His success is absolutely marvelous."⁹² Dolliver himself wrote: "I have spoken every night . . . to immense audiences and to the most marvelous enthusiasm you ever saw."⁹³

The citizens of Fort Dodge watched with pride the rise of their young speaker. When it was announced that he would be home to address a rally on the eve of the election, a large welcoming celebration was planned. Five special trains brought part of the crowd of three thousand which met the returning orator at the station. He was escorted at the head of a torch-light procession to the town square; seventeen hundred persons took part in the parade which was replete with troops of cavalry, floats, bands, and marching clubs. "The crowd and the feeling was thoroughly non-partisan," said the *Messenger*. "It was spontaneous enthusiasm for Dolliver." The central figure of the demonstration was deeply impressed. "The people," he wrote, "turned out in great numbers to see me and gave me a most cordial and hearty welcome. That reception [was] altogether the most remarkable thing in my life."⁹⁴ His ambition had been achieved. He had gained fame as an orator.

The years 1878-1884 were, thus, very significant in the development of Dolliver as a speaker. These years witnessed the formation of many of his political and economic concepts and the development of his characteristic style and delivery. His speaking techniques grew out of the lectures, occasional addresses, and political speeches which he delivered before audiences ranging from sedate church groups to wild political partisans. And his objective was gained. His ability as a speaker was conceded throughout Iowa, and the foundation of his national reputation was laid. Through his speaking his political future had been assured.

⁹² *Ibid.*, Oct. 30, 1884. Senator Orville H. Platt, of Connecticut, for example, headed a delegation which pleaded for Dolliver's services for one week in his state. *Ibid.*, Oct. 2, 1884.

⁹³ Dolliver to Mary Dolliver, Oct. 26, 1884.

⁹⁴ Fort Dodge *Messenger*, Nov. 6, 1884; Dolliver to Mary Dolliver, Nov. 11, 1884.

DOCUMENTS

THE MEMORIES OF ARISTARCHUS CONE

Edited by Mildred Throne

In the southwestern corner of Muscatine County, on Section 24 in Cedar Township, lies a farm of 190 acres — the Edgewood Home Farm — which has been in the same family for 114 years. The red brick house, now occupied by Mr. and Mrs. A. C. Hunter, was originally built in 1857 with bricks fired on the farm. Mr. Hunter's father, William Hunter, was the adopted son of the original owner, Aristarchus Cone, who came to Iowa in 1837 and staked out a claim in the newly created Muscatine County. His nearest neighbors were a few white families and the remnants of Indian tribes which were slowly being moved westward to make way for white settlement. On this farm, which he hacked out of the virgin prairie and forest, Cone lived until his death at the age of ninety in 1905. Sometime in the 1870's he set down his memories of his first years in Muscatine County on a few sheets of notebook paper.

Typical of many Iowa pioneers in the 1830's, Aristarchus Cone came from New England by way of Pennsylvania and Ohio. Born in East Haddam, Middlesex County, Connecticut, in 1815, of German and English parents, Cone worked at various jobs during his youth and at the age of twenty went to Pennsylvania with Richard Lord, to "trade." After a year or so of "trading," or peddling — itinerant peddlers were an important part of the economy of the frontier — he and Lord made a trip west in 1837, picked out farms in the wilds of Muscatine County, then in Wisconsin Territory, and returned the following year to "go into the Farming business."¹

The log cabin which Cone and Lord built so laboriously in 1838 was still standing on the farm until about 1933, when it was destroyed by falling trees during a storm. Cone lived in the cabin until 1857, when the new

¹ For Cone's own account of these early years, see "A Short Sketch of My Life" which follows. This "Sketch" is in a small notebook in the possession of Mr. A. C. Hunter. For biographical accounts of Cone's life, see *Portrait and Biographical Album of Muscatine County, Iowa* . . . (Chicago, 1889), 319-20; and *History of Muscatine County, Iowa* . . . (Chicago, 1879), 660-61.

brick house was completed. Some of the entries in Cone's day book for the year 1855 will give an idea of material and labor costs of the period.

1000 foot of timber pine	\$25.00
500 oak	8.00
Brick molds	4.50
paid Jake Oaks	2.75
" Irishman	4.50
Lumber 400 ft	10.00
Lumber 300 ft	7.50
" of Garrett, 500 ft	10.00
Hauling lumber from town 2400 ft.	5.00
Paid F. Palmer for making & burning one hundred and fifty thousand brick	114.00
to Wins 1 day carrying bricks	.40
" " and Sylus " "	1.20
Wins beating brick 42 day	16.00
" 1 day binding brick	.50
To well brick	15.50

According to a county history published in 1889, the original house was built at a total cost of \$2,800.²

The two accounts here published — "A Short Sketch of My Life" and "Life and Travels in the West Commencing in the Year A. D. 1837" — are now in the possession of Mr. A. C. Hunter and have been made available to the State Historical Society for publication. Written in the language and spelling of the mid-nineteenth century, these memories give a lively and at times amusing picture of the Iowa pioneer. Cone's delightful sense of humor, particularly in his discussion of the preparation and use of corn dodgers, makes his reminiscences lively and entertaining reading.

A SHORT SKETCH OF MY LIFE

I was Born on the 22nd of Feb A D 1815 in the Society of Milling Town of East Haddam State of Connecticut³ I lived with my Father & worked

² *Portrait and Biographical Album of Muscatine County, Iowa . . .*, 320. The day book from which the prices are quoted is in the possession of Mr. A. C. Hunter.

³ East Haddam, Connecticut, is in Middlesex County, on the east bank of the Connecticut River, a little south of its parent town, Haddam, on the west bank. About 1685 several families "by the names of Gates, Bates, Brainerd and Cone" left Haddam and established a "church society" on the site of East Haddam, although the new town did not become separated and independent until 1700. The "Society of Milling Town" — or Millington — was "once a thriving lumber town," a few

on the Farm untill I was 17th [sic] years of age I then began to think about looking out for my self Acordingly in the Spring of 1832 I engaged to Work for my Uncle Samuel Silliman in the Free Nail Factory for \$10 pr month & Bord I worked 3 month[s] untill the water became so low that It would not turn the machinery I then left & went & worked with my Brother through haying I then went Back home to my Fathers & staid untill the comming Winter when my Brother wish[ed] to have me come & Do chores for him & go to School as he was engaged in keeping School in a neighbouring district I went & Staid with him untill Spring I then ingaged to work in the quarry in Chatham on the Connecticut River about 18 miles from home I worked here 6 months at 12 Dollars a month I then Returned home & staid a few weeks I then ingaged to keep school for the term of 3 months in the School District in Millington Society at 8 Dollars a month I got a long tolerable well in the fore part of my school untill I aplyed the rod to some of the urchins wich riasd the Old womens dander but it had no efect in staying the rod of correction I kepe [sic] my School out but resolvd never to un[der]take it again

I onse more returnd home the next business I engaged in was in Fishing in Spring for shad in the Ct River oposite Comstocks ferry for Shailor & Kirtland at \$1 a day I fis[he]d 40 days it was rather cold work. I then wor[k]ed about home most of the time during summer I then began to think about some imployment for Winter & as I was at Camp meeting in Old Haddam I became acquainted with a man by the name of Richard Lord⁴ who had hired a number of young men in the neighbourhood to go into the State of Pennsylvania & Trade⁵ I accordingly was purswaded to

miles east of East Haddam. John Warner Barber, *Connecticut Historical Collections . . . Relating to the History and Antiquities of Every Town in Connecticut . . .* (New Haven, 1838), 524; Dorothy Deming, "The Settlement of the Connecticut Towns," *Tercentenary Commission of the State of Connecticut*, No. 6 (New Haven, 1933), 37-8; *American Guide Series, Connecticut . . .* (Boston, 1938), 358-9. The parents of Aristarchus Cone, Newell and Anne (Silliman) Cone, had six sons: Albert S., born 1804; Addison, born 1807; Aristarchus, born 1815; Julius, born 1817; Daniel Newell, born 1821; and William Edwin, born 1825. These names and dates come from a small notebook in the possession of Mr. A. C. Hunter.

⁴ Richard Lord, also a native of East Haddam, having been born there in 1808, is the grandfather of State Senator Herman Lord of Muscatine. For a brief sketch of Richard Lord's life, see *History of Muscatine County, Iowa . . .*, 610.

⁵ "Trading" or "peddling" in the rural areas was an important activity in the nineteenth century. Peddlers carried a wide variety of stock and brought goods to the isolated farmers and their wives. From an account book of Richard Lord, dating from 1833 to 1839, some idea of the type of goods handled by peddlers can be ob-

go & try my skill in the business I was to have \$8 a month & half of the profits I continued in the business for 9 month[s] & then went back to Ct & staid during Summer I then ingaged to go & try my skill onse more in peddling I now had 3/4 of the profhits [sic] we maid it our home at Thomas Weever Sunbury Pa. I made this my business most of the time untill 1838 I had been home onse in the time & [we] had removd our Station to Ohio near Cincinnati & had in 1837 taken a journey [to] the State of Illinois & the Territory of Wisconsin⁶

In the Spring of 1838 I concluded [to] go to Wisconsin T[erritory] in company with R Lord & go into the Farming business we landed at Bloomington W. T⁷ on the first of June & commensed operations I continued to carry on farming [t]he most of the time untill the spring of 1850 I visited the land of my birth in 1849 and I now am making Preperations for a trip acrost to the shores of the Pacific⁸

LIFE AND TRAVELS IN THE WEST COMMENSING IN THE YEAR A. D. 1837

By *Aristarchus Cone*

Chapt. 1st

In 1837 about the first of July I with a Friend by the name of Richard Lord left Cincinnati Ohio on a Steam Boat bound for St. Louis Mo. after some days passage without any thing remarkable hapning we arived at St

tained. (This account book has been donated to the State Historical Society of Iowa by Senator Herman Lord of Muscatine.) Wallets, shaving brushes, needle cases, beads, snuff boxes, cologne water, watch chains, gold rings, shoe and corset laces, lace, shawls, combs, soap, "Lucifer" and "Loco-Foco" matches, gloves, "Silk Flags," harmonicas, "segars," suspenders, slate pencils, violin strings, percussion caps, bonnet wire, a silk "umberalla," sleigh bells, "cravat stifners," paper "Imitation vests," and a myriad of other things were carried by peddlers. One listing of a stock of books carried by Lord includes: "Gulivers Travels," dream and song books, "Barron Munchauson," "Arabian Nights," "Scotch Chiefs," and "Pilgrims Progress." Comic almanacs were also a stock in trade. That the stock of a peddler's wagon represented a considerable outlay of money, for the times, is shown by an inventory of Lord's "waggon" taken on May 30, 1834; the total value of his stock at that time amounted to \$1,214.23½.

⁶ This 1837 trip and the years following are described in detail in "Life and Travels in the West Commencing in the Year A. D. 1837" which follows.

⁷ Iowa Territory was separated from Wisconsin Territory by an act of Congress of June 12, 1838, the act to take effect July 3, 1838. *U. S. Statutes at Large*, 5:235. Thus, although Cone emigrated to "Wisconsin Territory," his new home very shortly became "Iowa Territory."

⁸ Cone did not make this trip. His marriage to Harriet Oaks in 1851 no doubt put an end to his wanderings.

Louis. this was a Town at that time of about 25,000 inhabitants. here we staid for a few days and then went up the River to Alton Ill. here we stopt again. while here we saw the Selabrated Chief Black-Hawk and his Prophit and Braves. Blackhawk was a rather of a small Indian and quite dark he took but little notice of thoes [sic] about him They were on their way to Washington.⁹ Our thing[s] being landed here and expecting a Boat along soon to go up the Illinois River, we concluded to stand gard over them. here we waited untill the next morning before any Boat came. we had expected one along soon after we landed. You may well think that the time seamed long to us. The air was thick with musquiutoes

We fought the little Pest untill we could not stand it any longer. the next thing was to find some place that they could not present their Bills Near by Stood a Large potash kittle We turned this botom side up and cralled under thinking then that we would b[e] safe from the little torments. but they were not to be out geneared for they soon found their way under and we had to surrender the camp

From here we went up the Illinois River on a Steam Boat to Peora¹⁰ This place we thought to be one of the nicest locations for a Town that we had ever seen here I met with my Uncle, Wm Silliman and Cousin Wm from Louisana and some other old acquaintance we spent some time while here looking over the Prairies which were but little settled we were highly delighted with the senery.

To view the rowling Praries covered with tall grass and Flowers of evry Hue waveing in the wind was something grand it can be seen but hardly discribed.

From here (Peoria) we struck out on foot on the Big Prairies of Illinois with scarsely any Roads more than Indian Trails. we had no particular place in view, our object was to find a location where we could get Timber and Prarie Land together and get it at government price for Farms¹¹

⁹ This was undoubtedly the journey of the Indians to Washington preparatory to the treaty of September 28, 1837, the "Second Black Hawk Purchase." For the background of this treaty, see William J. Petersen, "The Second Purchase," *The Palimpsest*, 18:88-97 (March, 1937); A. R. Fulton, *The Red Men of Iowa . . .* (Des Moines, 1882), 222; Cyrenus Cole, *I Am a Man: The Indian Black Hawk* (Iowa City, 1938), 262.

¹⁰ Peoria. Cone's spelling of such words as Peoria, prairie, and mosquito is not consistent.

¹¹ The "government price" for land at this time was \$1.25 per acre. The lands, when surveyed, were put up for sale to the highest bidder at public sales conducted

You can imagion to your selves two yong men traveling on the Praries Indian file with grass waist high with a little Bundle in their hand and a straw Hat on with a handkerchief tied around their necks and Ears with a small Bush in one hand to keep away the musquitos in front the hinder-most one had to work the hardest to keep the sketoes off the first one stured them up nicely In this way we journeyed from one place to another stoping whenever we could find a Cabin. It was many a time amusing to us on inquireing about the Country if it was healthy O Yes was the invariable reply it is very healthy about here but a little ways off in most any direction it was very sickly. At the same time perhaps they would be shakeing with the ague The truth of it was they wanted People to come and settle where they were they did not want them to think it was unhealthy

In this way we tramped about from one place to another the sun seaming to rise and set in the Prarie, without a grove or House in view One vast Ocean of Prairie

We finely arived at the Mississippi River at Rock Island we stayed here a few days we like[d] the looks of the Country about here and should have taken Claims here but there seamed an uncertainty of holding them. Most of the Country at this time was held by squater Claimes They were taken bought and sold The Land not having been bought from government

This place (Rock Island) but a few years before was the strong hold of the Indians there still remains a little Eastward of here quite a large grave yard of their departed¹²

After leaving here we shaped our course up Rock River as far as Dickson [Dixon] from thense toards Galena. While on our journey up Rock River when near the River we were told by a man living near the River that by the Government Land Office of a district. Bids began at \$1.25. However, settlers who had not waited for the government sales, but had already "squatted" on vacant land, were liable to be out-bid for their land unless protected by pre-emption laws or by a "claim club" in the district. See Benj. F. Shambaugh, "Frontier Land Clubs or Claim Associations," *American Historical Assn., Report* (1900), 1:67-84.

¹² On the north bank of the Rock River, just south of the city of Rock Island, was the site of a Sauk Village, dating back to 1730. "This was not a small community, for at times as many as 3,000 gathered here, and this was a large village for the nomadic Indians. Probably it was one of the largest, and certainly was the oldest on the whole continent, and naturally the Indians were very proud of it. One of the chief attractions of the place was the tribal burying ground of the Sacs, where for a century the bones of the dead had been deposited." Newton Bateman and Paul Selby (eds.), *Historical Encyclopedia of Illinois and History of Rock Island County* . . . (2 vols., Chicago, 1914), 1:618-19.

if we would cross over on to the East side of the River we would find it better settled and he would Ferry us over we took his advice and went over with him and paid him 50 cts for Ferrying us. And it was well for him that we never saw him any more for he had landed us on a low swamp island full of nettles and mosquitoes after wandering about for some time we waded out through the mud and water and not in a very good [h]umor we proceeded on our course a short distance and stopt for the Night being about tuckered out

It was generally a long distance between cabins. after some days travel we came to Galena here we prospected amongst the Lead mines for a few days, one day while here we came to a little Corn in roasting Ears belonging to an Old Negro so we concluded to have some Rost Corn We confiscated a few ears built a fire and rosted them, after we had left and got a short distance we noticed the Old Negro looking around he had discovered the smoke, he probably found the Cobs.

We crossed the Missisipi River at this place in a dug-out into what was known then as Osconsen [Wisconsin] Territory we then concluded we had gone North far enough and turned down the River on our Travel down we came to a small River called Macoita,¹³ here we had a notion to take Claimes there being a nice piece of Land along the River but we found the Land near-by so Hilly and poor that [we thought] we had better look further We tramp on untill we came to Davenport. Here we found a Large body of Indians encamped receiveing their annuities from government¹⁴

We liked the looks of Davenport altho but a small Town and concluded that this would be a big City sometime we had a notion of buying a claim on a piece of Land adjoining town the Land was held by claimes not having been sold by government it contained 160 acres and the price \$1000, which was cheap but there seemed an uncertainty about holding it if we should leave it.¹⁵ Some one might squat on it and our money would

¹³ Maquoketa River, in Jackson County.

¹⁴ This was very probably in September of 1837. At that time the Sauk and Fox came to receive their last annuity, which was to be paid to them by the Indian agent, Joseph M. Street, at Rock Island. Franc B. Wilkie, *Davenport, Past and Present* . . . (Davenport, 1858), 48.

¹⁵ A price of \$6.25 per acre seems high for this period, but it must be remembered that the land speculation of these years was leading to the financial panic of 1837 which would soon bring land prices down. Since, as Cone mentions, these lands had not yet been sold by the government, \$1,000 for 160 acres was highly speculative.

be gone so we concluded [to] look further as there might be some place just as good and not have to pay any money for it.

From Davenport we took a South Westerly course on a wild Prairie No traveled Road we kept our course by the sun We traveled all day without seeing a human being and near night came to a small grove of Timber in the Prairie a few logs had been rolled together her[e] for to make a claim and a small patch of Prairie broken and planted in Potatoes but no one here we conclued this would be the best place that we should find to stay over night. there was however nothing in the place or surroundings that was very inviting to the weary traveler. No shelter nothing to eat musquitoes so thick you could stir them with a stick a dark cloud arising in the West with Thunder and Lightning to rende[r] the sene mor gloomy in this situation we begun to make preperations for spending the night To stay without having some fire to make a smoke was almost imposable we had no matches so we had to contrive some method to make fire. Necessity the old saying is is the mother of Invention so it prove to us I had a small Pistol¹⁶ I loaded it with Powder tore up a part of a cotton handkerchief that we had carryed our extra shirts in stuff it in the Pistol and fired it off and got fire in that way we lay on the ground near the fire and smoke during the night between the smoke and musquitoes we did not sleep overly sound at least we were up early in the morning and a drizzling rain was falling about this time we were in want of something to eat

We had had nothing to eat sinse the morning before we hunted around and found a few quite small Potatoes about as big as Hickery nuts, we rosted some of them in the ashes and eate them for Breakfast without sugar or salt. we were then in a good condition for a days tramp we started in the rain through the wet grass as high as our heads with our little bundle minus a part of the cotton handkerchief that had been about it we traveled on through the Prairie waiding streams and swiming some they being [high] on acont of the rain. about the middle of the afternoon we desernd a Cabin Far distant on the Prairie we made for it as most of hungry Stragglers wood we were feeling the want of something to eat Sod potatoes did not satisfy the appetite The woman of the Cabin got us a very good dinner at leeast it tasted good to us after fasting most of two days.

The first sales of government land in Iowa were not held until November of 1838 at Dubuque and Burlington. Until that date, land was held by "squatter rights" and protected only by claim clubs. See note 11.

¹⁶ This pistol, known as a derringer, is still in the possession of Mr. A. C. Hunter.

I will say here for the credit of the Early settlers in the Far West at this time, that whenever we Came to a Cabin at Night or at any other time we were made Welcome to such as they had. The Latch string was allways on the out side of the door we were not told that the next House was but a little wais off and they would keep us such as they had they shared with [us] Many a time when Darkness has overtaken us on the Prairie so that we had to feel along so as not to miss the Trail or Indian path, we would listen if we could hear the tinkling of a Cow Bell or the Barking of a Dog which was a sure indication that some one lived in the vicinity and when the Cabin was found we were sure that we could stay if it was but 10x12 and contained but one Room.

One Room had to answer for a kitchen Dining and sleeping Room Many times no floor more than the Earth with mud and stick chimley. Some times they would get the Draft of the Chimley rong end down which did not make it so agreeable for the Cook as if it had been otherwise but nevertheless they had to grin and bare it as the old saying is. There is nothing like getting ust to it.

The next place in our wandrings was our arival near Night at the great Town of Moscow not ancient Moscow but Moscow on Cedar River with two Whisky shops and some two or three other Buildings¹⁷ The Whisky Shops in full blast with Forty-Rod Whisky. Here were congregated Indians and Whites in every State of Drunkness this we were told was an every day acurance we came to the conclusion that this was not a place for us to stop long in. we prefered sleeping on the Prairie rather than to stay in such a place we went a short distance belo the Town and got a man to take us acrosst the River in a Canoe we soon found a Cabin where we staid over Night free from Drunken Rowdys The next morning we went along down the West side of Cedar River came to the remains of quite an Indian Village but no Indians¹⁸

Their Wige-ups [wickiups] as they term them were still standing. In

¹⁷ Moscow, in Moscow Township, is in the north central section of Muscatine County, on the Cedar River. The site had first been settled in 1836. Late that fall a Mr. Mitchell opened a store, largely for trading with the Indians. Alex. Ross came the same year and also opened a store "where more whiskey than other staple goods were sold." *History of Muscatine County, Iowa . . .*, 583.

¹⁸ Very probably the site of the village of Poweshiek, chief of the Foxes, "Which was located on the west bank of the Cedar River, near the Saulsbury bridge, about twelve miles west of Muscatine." Irving B. Richman, *History of Muscatine County, Iowa . . .* (2 vols., Chicago, 1911), 1:60.

the center was the Chief House Poles were standing on which they put offerings as sacrafice the Bones were lying quite thick at the Botom of the Poles These sacrafices they make are Offering[s] to appease the wrath of Evil Spirits good ones they dont fear. Here no doubt they had assembled from time to time for many generations past Here they had held their Counsils and War Dances this no doubt was a Place Dear to them This was a place for them to rally from against their foes as their paths indicated going in every direction but alas but few remain, a mere remnent of the Tribe they have gone toards the Settin[g] Sun

From here we crossed the Prairie some Three miles to a Large Creek known as Wapsanonock [Wapsinonoc] an Indian name found no one living along the Creek except one man near where it emptied into Cedar River here he was with his Family consisting of his Wife and two small girls living in a Tent no white Inhabitants near but a plenty of Indians he had located at this Far off place for the sake of trading with the Indians This man[s] Name was Kidder¹⁹ he and his Wife were from Vermont and were very inteligent Folks They had come West for the purpose of trying the realty of Frontier life

We stayed some days with them did not like the country about here well enough to locate it seams to us to be a Wild wast of Prarie While wandering about here one day we came to a place along the River Botom where the Indians had had quite a large corn field the year before The squaws have to plant and tend the corn while the Indian lays in the shade or hunts Their mode of Planting is to plant in the same hill year after year pulling up the Old Stock and depositing the seed in the same place. the hills become quite elevated from frequent planting they tend the corn with a hoe

We found that this Indian corn field had allready been laid claim to by the squatter he had built a small shanty on the premises and from all appearances was keeping Batch There was no one that we could find about and it being about the Middle of the afternoon we were feeling the want of something to eat and as hunger noes no restriction we made Bold to take some Bread that had been Baked in the ashes and laying on the Table We wrote on a pi[e]ce of Paper and laid it where we found the Bread that two

¹⁹ It has been found impossible to trace many of the early settlers named by Cone. Very probably they were the type of pioneer who moved on, as settlement increased, and no record of them has been left.

hungry straglers had called and finding no one at Home but the Bread had made bold to take a part of it along and had left 25 cts as a compensation for it.

From Kidders we crossed Cedar River on the East side went down about six miles found a Cabin to stay at over night next morning [we] started on our tramp as usual Grass was nearly as high as our heads after Traveling about two miles in a Southerly direction We came to a beautiful looking Prairie Surrounded on three sides by Timber or Wood Land with a stream of Water running through it. The tall grass waveing in the Wind as far as the eye could see to the South I said to my Friend and fellow Traveler this is the place I have been looking for I am going to lay claim to this Land I shall here end this first chapter and commens the next

Chapter 2nd

Taking a Claim

The first we wanted to know was if there was anybody living about but Indians We found on Traveling about Three Familys of Squatters living some two miles south who had come late the Fall before They gave a sad tale of their hardship through the Winter There being no provisions in the Country they had to cut Trees down for their Cattle to Browse on not having any Hay Many of them [the cattle] died before spring came and the Indians had a feast on their carcasses These things did not look very encouraging to us to make a Home here but neverless we concluded to try it I staked off my claim (The Land had not been surveyed at this time only into Townships six miles square)²⁰ and went to the recorder of Claims living about 8 miles distant near the mouth of the Cedar River and had a Record made of it My Friend Lord took a claim near mine we paid 50 cts each for Recording of our Claimes this was according to squatter rule there being not much Law or Gospel here²¹ after complying with what we understood to be nesisary to establish our claimes and feeling that We had a right here as well as the rest we set about to make some improvement on our Claims The first thing was to find some place to stay at as you must know that Boarding Houses were not plenty in this part of

²⁰ "The first Government lines run in the county were surveyed in the winter of 1836-37. During the following summer, the townships were subdivided into sections." *History of Muscatine County, Iowa . . .*, 403.

²¹ For a description of the method of staking out claims, see *ibid.*, 403-405.

the country We finely ingaged Boarding at a Cabin about two miles distant from our Claimes The man[s] name was Johnson He agreed to Board us at Four Dollars and a half pr week each Our Bill of Fare consisted of green corn sod Potatoes and Punkins The cabin was built of Split Logs not chunk or daubed and a roof on about one half of it No floor except the ground We had a few pieces of Bark Spread down and an Old quilt on the Top of the Bark for a bed We were getting innishaed [initiated] into Frontier life The Old man kept Whiskey and sold to the Indians.²² This brought a large squad of them around every night They wanted a heap of Whisk as they called it They would trade anything they had for Whisk and get so Drunk that they could not go One of them generally remained Sober to take care of the Drunken ones they had more thought in that respect than som White folks We did not form a very favorable Opinion of Indian Life They were filthy lousy beings not much above the Brute creation

Their mode of cooking was not the most modern style they put their game such as Ducks and geese and Prarie chickens into a pot with some Water feathers entrails all together with some corn or Beans and Boiled untill it became soft so that they could pull it apart nicely no salt or pepper was nesisary it was sufficiently seasoned they would eat enough at one time to kill any white man and then Fast if they had not any thing This is Indian Life

The Old Man Johnson had a small dog amongst the rest of the good things The Wolves ust to come around the cabin [at] nights The little Dog would runn out between the logs after the Wolves then the Wolves would runn the Dog back into the House so that between the Dog and the Indians there was not much Sleep on our bark Bed There was a mud chimley and fire place in the Cabin but the smoke did not allwais go up the mud chimley the Draft most of the time was downward you may imagion that there were many tearful times when the smoke got so we could not see any thing the Old Woman would curse the Black Hawk purchase (this country was known at that time by this name) You would come to the conclusion as well as ourselves that this was not a very nice Boarding place

²² These Indians may have been from Poweshiek's village on the Iowa River, in what is now Johnson County, or from Keokuk's village six miles west of Muscatine in Muscatine County. Fulton, *The Red Men of Iowa* . . ., 239, 259.

We stayed here untill about the first of Oct we worked on our claimes cutting Logs for Houses as there was no Boards to be had The Land was runn off into section[s] soon after we came here and we conformed our claimes to the sections Lines I put up a rail pen in the shape of a House on my claim had it noted on the surveyors Book and returned to the General Land Office at Washington with my name²³ this was my first building in the West and I have no doubt you would have laught to have seen it This fully confirmed my sovernty as a squatter on the Public Domain

We spent most of the time looking about the country. One day haveing a desire to go on the West side of Cedar River from our Boarding Mansion not haveing any Boat we roaled some logs into the River and made a Raft and crossed on it We found some fine Timber Land and came to the conclusion that the Indians did not want it so we laid claim to it We had seen a good many Indians about during the day and when we came back to the River about night we found the Indians had Stolen Our Raft so that we could not cross back that night The Indians were camped on the River Bank we did not fancy the Idea of staying with them so we concluded to go out to the high ground from the River about one mile and then go up the River some six miles to a House it being the only House that side of the River before we came to the high ground Darkness overtook us. we came to a Pond of Water and could find no way to get around it the grass was as high as our heads there seamed no way of getting up on the high Prairie only to wade through I waded in untill it got nearly deep enough to swim and gave it up

This was in the Fall of the year and the ground was white with frost we went back [to the] River where the Indians were they made signs to us to come into their Wigep as they call it and stay we went in there was about a doz little and big Indians and squaws in the camp there was several other camps near by in the middle of their camp they had a little fire on the ground and a good deal of smoke a small opening was in the top of the wigeyup for the smoke to go out here we seated ourselves things did not look very inviting for a nights stay they offered us some candy

²³ Cone had no legal basis for possession of his claim. Entering his name on a survey book did not amount to a "pre-emption" since the Pre-emption Act of 1833 had expired in 1836 and no new act was passed until 1838. "Before the act of 1838 was passed, more than 23,000 people were occupying land in Iowa to which they had no legal right." The only protection a settler had was membership in a claim club. Roscoe L. Lokken, *Iowa Public Land Disposal* (Iowa City, 1942), 80.

made from maple molasses but we had seen to[o] much of Indian life to want any they had learned to play cards from the Whites and amused themselves in the fore part of the night in playing and singing songs we did not sleep much We started out Early the next morning did not stay for Breakfast and went to work and built a raft and crossed back on the East side of the River. This was our first and last time in camping with Indians The Indians that were here at this time were known as the Musquakes or Fox Indians They and the Sue Indians were inveterate Enemies

The Sues being the most numerous the Fox Indians Stood in fear of them The Sues made an atac on them one night while in camp about one mile East of our Boarding place and killed quite a number of them. They made signs to us how they came on them in the night a few days afterwards and how many was killed and how they killed them they represent the number by holding up the fingers so many squaws and so many Poppose [papoose] They took hold of the hair on the top of the Head and made signs with a knife acrost their throats to show how they killed the Popposes²⁴

After spending the summer here and not careing to Winter amongst the natives we concluded to go back to Ohio We had left what few things we brought from Ohio at Peora So we had to go back there. this we had to do on foot there being no Rail Roads or Stages the distance was 150 miles we were in a good condition for travel after haveing lived on sod potatoes green corn and Punkins through the Summer We left our Boarding place without shedding many tears

While on our journey to Peoria one day we saw near us a large Flock of Wild geese we went [with]in a few steps of them and had to swing our hats at them to make them fly they new no fear not haveing seen a person before After a good many hard days travel we arived in the vicinity of Peoria in rather a Delapidated Condition Our shoes were worn out so that we had to ty them up with strings our clothes were in rags we looked more like Begers than any thing else we managed to get into Peoria after night haveing some acquaintance here we did not care to be seen in day light. Our Friends here had given us up as lost not haveing heard from us after our leaving Here I will bring this chapter to a close and pass over the time spent in Ohio untill our return to Iowa again

²⁴ Just when this particular engagement took place is not clear. Since the Sauk and Fox were constantly at war with the Sioux, it may possibly have been an old battle which the Indians were describing to their guests.

Chapt 3rd

In May 1838 I again Landed at Bloomington now Muscatine Iowa My Friend Mr Lord had left me at St. Louis and gone into Illinois to buy some work Cattle to Breake Prairie as there was none to be had where we were going

On Landing at Bloomington with our Tools for Farming and keeping Batch I could find no place to store them only an Old Log cabin a short distance from the River there being no Store House in the place or but few other Houses²⁵ The next thing was to get our thing[s] out on to our claimes which was 12 miles distant Team[s] at this [time] were not plenty I left Town and went out on what is known as the Slow [Slough] Road I stoped at a house 4 miles out from Town the man that lived here said his name was Cotton I talked with him a while and he began to tell about a man living near him by the name of Davis how mean he was and the worst of all he was a Yankee and the Yankees were all so mean they lived by cheating

His Wife says to him perhaps this man is a Yankee O no he says he is to[o] honest a Looking Man for a Yankee so I had to tell him some Storys about the Yankees I told him that they had got up a new thing and he must look out Sharp that he did not get taken in That they were making wooden Hams they look well but did not cook very well he said he would be on the lookout for them

This man was from Posey county Indiana He concluded that as I was not a Yankee an[d] a good sort of a fellow he would take his Team and Haul my things out on to my claim if I would pay him six Dollars which I agreed to do The next day they were delivered acording to contract Here I was on the Prairie without any thing for a House I built a fire and lay on the ground with a Bufalow Skin for a bed plenty of sketoos The next day I mowed some grass and got some poles and fixed up a Shelter for myself and things Provisions we had brought along knowing they could not

²⁵ Muscatine (Bloomington until 1851), first platted in 1836, was but two years old when Cone arrived there in 1838. William Gordon had built the first frame building, a hotel, in September, 1836. There were but two other buildings in the town at that time. The second frame building was completed in the spring of 1837, a tavern. Two stores and two carpenter shops were also built in 1837. A second hotel was built in the spring of 1838. The entire population of Muscatine County in 1838 was 1,247. *History of Muscatine County, Iowa . . .*, 501-504; 1836-1880 *Iowa Census*, 198.

be got here I arranged my things for House Keeping not perhaps after the most modern Style but it answered our purpose My Friend Lord came in a few day[s] with Four yoke of Oxen ready for business we wanted a little better shelter so we made a tent and put it up. had to make it tight so as to keep the musquitoes out the air was thick with them

In this we lived through the Summer breaking Prairie most of the time we let our Cattle go at night on the big Prairie with a bell on They would frequently stray off so that we could not find them for a day or two had no Horse so we had to wade through the grass as high as our heads in the morning we would get as wet as if we had been in the River When it came Fall we hired some men to build us a log House they were taken sick and did not get it done it came on cold we were in the Tent we had to have some place warmer to live in untill we could get up a cabin so we made a Rail Pen and filled the cracks with Hay and Hay and dirt on the top for a roof we had our stove in it and it was warm and nice we had got finely fixed we had lived in it three days just at night on the third day as I came in with a bucket of Water it caught fire where the stove pipe went through the roof. I dashed the water on it but it did not stop the fire in about five minits it was in ashes with many of our things

Here we were again out in the cold in November. We had to take to the Old Tent again The next morning there was six Inches of snow on the ground we built a big fire and rosted some Potatoes and Baked some Bread in the ashes This we eat Standing around the fire the wind blowing a gale from the North West

We began to realize the pleasures [of] settling in a new country we were on the extream Frontier not a solatary settler West of us to the Pacific Ocean and but few settlers here

Our provisions were nearly gone the Missispi frozen up and no provisions scarsely in the country and we without a shelter except the Tent and on the edge of the Prairie with any amount of Hungry Indians and Wolves about us We were here and must make the best of Our situation We went to work getting such Logs as we could handle to make a House of

While we were hauling Logs two men of our acquaintance from Ohio came to see us it was on Sunday they asked us if we worked on Sunday here we told them that we had lost our reckning and could not tell wether it was Sunday or Monday You may well think that we were well fixed to

entertain visitors one of the men afterwards became Governor of the State of Iowa²⁶

We had to devise many ways to get the logs rolled up there being but two of us but after tugging away for some days in the snow and cold we got them up Then we had to Split out Boards to make a roof and also for a floor and door amongst it all it required a great amount of labor it had to be chunked and duded with mud²⁷ We finally got it ready to move into and I presume we felt prouder of our House than many would be with one that cost Thousands Our bill of Fare had been reduced while at our House to Potatoes and a little Buckwheat Flower we were not troubled with Dispepsa The only chances to get provisions now was to go over into Illinois after it about One Hundred Miles Mr Lord conclud he would go and I would keep camp he was gone two weeks and came back with provisions so that we could Winter through

The Missipi had frozen over uncommon early in the winter without any provision in the country²⁸ For a bl of salt we had to pay Twenty Dollars and go some Twenty miles down the River after it The settlers were now experianceing hard times they had come here most of them with but little means and had to make allmost any shift to get along. They had to go to Illinois to get Corn to make their Dodgers of I shall call the years 1838 and 1839 the Corn Dodger Period Some of our sisters if they should read this may smile at the idea I can assure you that Corn Dodgers were the main stay They were good as an article of food as well as of Defense they could be kept good for a long time I will tell how they are made and then any one can judge for themselves of their good qualitys

Take course corn meal with out being sifted wet up with water a little salt and made into small balls and Baked in a Dutch oven or skillet untill quite dry and you have a jenuine Dodger The usual place to keep them

²⁶ Ralph P. Lowe of Muscatine, a native of Ohio, and Republican Governor of Iowa, 1858-1860.

²⁷ For a description of pioneer homes, see William J. Petersen, "The Pioneer Cabin," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, 36: 387-409 (October, 1938).

²⁸ "1838 — Winter set in unusually early this year. After the 10th of November ice was running thickly in the river, navigation being so unexpectedly interrupted that the settlements on the Upper Mississippi were prevented from securing, in the usual way, supplies of necessities for the winter. Dry goods, coffee, sugar, salt, etc., were conveyed in wagons from St. Louis to this place, and as far above as Prairie du Chien. Two barrels of flour sold for \$25 and salt retailed at \$6 per bushel." Richman, *History of Muscatine County, Iowa* . . ., 1:447.

was a shelf near the fire Place the shelf was made of a Board split out and fastend to two pins So as to have them handy when visitors came they were proof against mice or Rats

The Summer of 1839 was very Sickly almost every one in the Country had the Feaver and Ague or something worse There was hardly well ones enough to take care of the Sick when one died all the way that they could make a coffin was to cut down a big Tree and split it up and hugh [hew] out Boards there was no Saw mill and no Boards could be had This looked to me rather hard after living on corn Dodgers and potatoes and then to be buried in such a coffin I helped to bury the first man Every new commer had to have a regular course of Ague and Feaver which would last for eight or ten months it allwais came on about one time in the day first the chill then the feaver

In the Fall of 1839 I took chills and feaver with the rest I was a good deal of the time alone my chills would come on about ten Oclock and that and the Feaver would last untill in the afternoon The rest of the time I had to get about and make ready for the next day My cooking must be done and a bucket of water Brought in the morning to last through the day This had to be brought some distance and poor stuff at that many a time have I crauled acrosst the floor when I had the feaver not being able to stand and get a drink of water and then back to bed in this way I put in the time untill the next Spring I took all the nostrum in the country but done me no good I did not care much whether I lived or died I had lost all ambition. As the Spring advanced and the weather got warm I got better and able to work some.

Missourie War

In the Winter of 1839 Govenor Lucas then Governor of Iowa Territory Proclaimed War against the Pukes that is the Missourians²⁹

Missourie claimed the Southern part of Iowa and undertook to collect Tax from the inhabitants living in that part of the Territory by seizeing

²⁹ This comic-opera war was the result of dispute over the Iowa-Missouri boundary, the arrest of a Missouri tax-collector in Van Buren County, and the irresponsible actions of Gov. Boggs of Missouri and Gov. Robert Lucas of Iowa in calling up troops. Before any blood was shed, however, the Iowa legislature intervened and appealed to Congress for an amicable settlement. For an account of this "War," see *History of Muscatine County, Iowa . . .*, 442-53; Cyrenus Cole, *Iowa Through the Years* (Iowa City, 1940), 143-6; J. P. Walton, "Bloomington's Part in the Missouri War," *Pioneer Papers . . .* (Muscatine, 1899), 112-15.

their property when they did not pay the consequence was that the Missouri Sheriff was seized by Iowa officers and lodged in the Old Log Jail [at] Bloomington now Muscatine for safe keeping³⁰

This was more than the Missourians could stand the Governor of Missouri Ordered his Troops on to the disputed Territory the mails were stoped things began to look like fite in earnest In the meantime Govenor Lucas Ordered his men out I think it was some time in Dec. there was about one foot of snow on the Ground and quite cold Muscatine Countys Soldiers Mustered under Col John Vanatta Capt Green and A F Banks I was Summonsed to appear at the Court House Square Bloomington with Gun and napsack with two weeks provision which would make a purty good Load for one man I haveing the Ague at that time was excused from service and left as home Gard The Soldiers haveing assembled at the Court House Square and all being in readiness some armed with shot guns and others with Broom Sticks and goodly Stock of 40 Rod Whiskey they made a start toards the seat [of] war Swareing vengence to the Pukes The first night they camped about 8 miles on the Slow Road from Bloomington they were not generally very well clothed for a Winter campain and after standing about the camp fire most of the night and seeing no Enemy their Patritism began to abate and quite a squad deserted

The nex[t] day they went as far as Wappellow³¹ and camped for the night here the comisary obtained a Fat Hog for the Soldiers which neaded dressing for use they thought a good way to get the hair off was to put on some Whiskey and burn it off so they put on some and Drank some and set fire to the Hog it had the desired effect burnt the hair and Hog in fact they finally conclued after holding a council to put more Whiskey on and make a burnt offering for their Success in Battle which was done

From here they marched on to Burlington which was to be the general rendeesvou before attacking the Enemy after staying in Burlinton a few days and seeing no Enemy Peace was finally Declared Untill the United States should runn the Boundry line between the two States³² the Troops

³⁰ "Henry Heffleman, the Sheriff of Van Buren County . . . arrested the Missouri officer, and, there being no jail suitable for retaining prisoners nearer than Muscatine, he was taken to that county and there lodged in jail." *History of Muscatine County, Iowa* . . . , 445.

³¹ Wapello, Louisa County.

³² The Supreme Court decided on a line in February, 1849. Cole, *Iowa Through the Years*, 146.

then returned to their homes without having any fight only amongst themselves this ended the Missouri War The Soldiers I understand have not been able to get any Pension from Government for their servis as yet.³³

My First Trip to Mill

In March 1839 I started out with two yoke of cattle and Wagon Freightd mostly with Corn for Nyes Mill on Pine Creek in the Northern part of the County³⁴

The morning was pleasant for the time of year I had to go around-about way on the Prairie there being scarsely any Road more than Indians Trailles it was like starting out on a voiage to sea a man had to take his provisions along for fear he might not make a Port when it came night Harbors were few and far between at this time after traveling a few hours from home it began to cloud up and have the appearance of a Storm but there was no chance to Slacken Sail for I was farely out to sea I pursued my course as nearly as I could. about the middle of the day it commensed Snowing and raining I drove on untill dark and had the good luck to find a small Cabin on the Prairie with a family living in it I could Stay they made no excuses for the want of beter acomidations I was thankful to get a shelter The next morning the ground was covered with snow and frozen I hitched up my Cattle and Started on my journey the man I staid with giving me the course I traveled all day the Wind blowing cold from the North West when night came on it found me in the Prairie almost out of sight of Timber I conclud it was no use to try to go farther I chained my Cattle to the Wagon Eat some Dodger and camped for the night it was rather airy I lay on the Sacks with a Bufalo skin for a covering The Wolves came about during the night and furnished musick without charge

The next morning I took up my line of march You may well think that

³³ "The expenses of Iowa in calling out the militia to maintain her rights and enforce the laws on the disputed tract were upward of \$13,000. Some of those expenses were borne by individuals whose circumstances were such that they could not well afford to lose the amount justly due them. Congress was memorialized by the Territorial Legislature to make an appropriation to meet these expenses, and on two occasions a bill was passed through the House, providing for their payment, but both bills failed to pass the Senate." *History of Muscatine County, Iowa . . .*, 446-7.

³⁴ This mill, on Pine Creek in Montpelier township on the Mississippi River, had been built by Benjamin Nye in 1837, the first gristmill in the county. *History of Muscatine County, Iowa . . .*, 402. Also, see Jacob A. Swisher, *Iowa, Land of Many Mills* (Iowa City, 1940), 82.

there was nothing about here that looked like a mill so I squared off toards the Timber a long distance off I came to the Timber and after driving a while came to a Saw mill I inquired for the grist-mill I could see nothing of any They told me it was under the saw mill so I drove up and looked around found a little cubby hole under the saw mill where they cracked corn I had been two days and a half in finding this little Corn Cracker They commenced work on my grist and ground it out against night I loaded on my Sacks of cracked corn and drove a short distance and stoped for the night the next morning Started Homeward (the snow had mostly left) I got back that night to where I staid the first night after leaving home and the next day home

I had made the trip in the incredible short time of five days without Shipwreck On my arrival home the Neighbours came in to congratulate me on my safe arrival and Borrow some meal until it should become their turn to go

The First Election in Iowa

The first Election in Iowa was in August 1839³⁵ there was then but Thirteen countys organized in the Territory These countys were divided into Presinks the one in which I was located contained Twelve square miles (four congressional townships) in all this Territory we polled but Nine votes all told Five of these voters it took to form the Election Board of Officers My Friend Mr Lord and myself had the honor of being Clerks of this election This position I held for Thirty years afterwards Which party carried the day I am not able to say at this time the Election was held in a Small Log Cabin if the Indians had been allowed to vote we could have had quite a respectful number

³⁵ This was actually the second election in Iowa Territory; the *first* election took place in September, 1838; the *second*, in August of 1839. The voters elected members of the territorial legislature. Muscatine County was represented in the Council by James M. Clarke, held over from the 1838 election; in the House by Serranus C. Hastings, a lawyer of Bloomington, who subsequently served as a member of the territorial Council, as a Representative of the state of Iowa in the 1846 Congress, and as Chief Justice of the Iowa Supreme Court from 1848 to 1849, after which he moved to California. Hastings was a Democrat. Whether any of the nine votes cast in Cone's precinct were for Hastings is not known. For a brief sketch of Hastings, see Benjamin F. Gue, *History of Iowa* . . . (4 vols., New York, 1903), 4:120-21; for a colorful description of "Hastings a Unique Character," see Richman, *History of Muscatine County, Iowa* . . ., 1:119-20, 121-2.

Among the papers left by Aristarchus Cone, now in the possession of Mr. A. C. Hunter, is an interesting document: "Poll Book, August Election 1844 Cedar Township Muscatine County Iowa Ter'y." This election, held to send delegates to the 1844 constitutional convention, resulted in Muscatine County sending three delegates: Jonathan E. Fletcher, Ralph P. Lowe, and Elijah Sells. Cedar Township cast 46 votes. The voters, as listed in the "Poll Book," were as follows:

Elisha Green	Joseph Cox	Joseph Edgington
H. Vanpelt	R. Lord	Thomas Shearon
H. Musgrave	Wm. Asher	P. F. Perry
A. R. Edgington	John Lockhart	Jonathan Littell
A. G. Townsley	Obediah Humble	James Edgington
V. Tracy	David Storm	A. M. Brandenburg
Jacob Shellabarger	Samuel Storm	John Oaks
Geo. Baxter	Samuel Lucas	Reeve Edgington
John Kirkpatrick	G. L. Green	Silas Richardson
John Littell	Wm. Cox	D. W. Pettit
Wm. Parvin	Addison Reynolds	Silas Goldsbery
N. H. Brandenburg	Geo. Storm	John R. Pettit
James Patmore	B. H. Palmer	Joseph Jeans
G. L. Crain	A. Cone	John H. Smith
Wm. Israel	Peter Storm	
Jonathan Harrison	Jacob Jean	

SOURCE MATERIAL OF IOWA HISTORY

[From time to time the JOURNAL will contain a section in which material from old newspapers and journals will be reprinted. Contemporary newspapers are valuable source material, not only for the facts of what happened, but for the points of view of the editors and their readers — not only for what people were doing, but what they were thinking. These excerpts are reprinted from the *Northwestern Farmer*, one of Iowa's earliest farm journals. The first shows the hopes and plans of the Iowan of the 1850's, in the editor's flamboyant style, in the often long and always copiously punctuated sentences of the period, and in the nineteenth century frontier spirit of optimism. The second section develops a theme which agricultural editors constantly stress — the need for better farming. To the early publishers of farm journals and newspapers is due much of the credit for improvement in agricultural methods. Both these articles were written by the associate editor of the *Northwestern Farmer*, Solomon Lombard. — EDITOR.]

AGRICULTURAL ADVANTAGES OF IOWA

By the Associate Editor,

The geographical position of Iowa renders her one of the most fortunate of the sisterhood of States. Bounded on the South by Missouri, and on the West by the Missouri River, one of the noblest of American streams, draining a territory of immense extent, possessing no other natural outlet for its present or future productions; and which, although now comparatively destitute of population, is destined, at some not-far distant day, to be dotted with farms and hamlets, and towns, and cities, from the present frontier of civilization to the base of the Rocky Mountains. The "Father of Waters" forms her eastern boundary, (dividing her from her no less favored Sisters — Wisconsin and Illinois) traversing the entire length of the Union, receiving its thousand tributaries which drain the richest and most extensive valley upon the globe, bringing with them the products of twenty States or more — bearing it onward to the great commercial mart of the Southwest, where noble vessels wait to bear it to every nook and corner of the universe, bringing in return the staples of other climes. On the North is her

infant Sister, Minnesota, beaming with all the life and activity which ever characterise a rigorous climate; abounding with forests of majestic pine; intersected by noble rivers, and interspersed with thriving towns and villages. Within the boundaries of our State, from center to circumference, towns and cities have arisen, as if by magic, as thriving, healthy, and beautiful as any State can boast. Railroads are intersecting her territory, from different points on her eastern boundary, enlivening her towns with the merry hum of business; affording her citizens easy and speedy access to eastern and southern markets; and ere long the heavy tramp and shrill whistle of the "iron horse" will be heard in the towns and cities upon her western frontier, where it will ultimately wend its way across the boundless plains of Nebraska — enter some Rock[y] Mountain Pass, and emerge in the golden region of the Pacific. A thousand floating palaces grace the bosoms of the noble rivers which we have mentioned, bringing to our State thousands who are seeking for themselves and families, homes, wealth, and happiness; and to our citizens the products of the plantations of the Sunny South — the manufactures of New England, and the commercial commodities of every country on the globe in amity with ours. Communications from the Free States to the Pacific, *ceteris paribus*, will ever pass thro' free territory, consequently they cannot pass south of Iowa. Dense forests, and the obstructions presented by a northern winter, will keep them within a prairie region, and the influence of a mild and temperate climate; thus passing between the great barriers which open the way to the unsettled regions of the west. Of the different portions of the Union, the NORTHWEST enjoys the greatest immunity from disease; a circumstance which renders a prairie preferable to a timber country. — These are blessings which Iowa enjoys in common with her immediate neighbors.

Of the fifty one thousand square miles of territory which she embraces within her limits, probably forty thousand are destitute of timber. Groves and forests are, however, so generally diffused, that the citizens of every neighborhood can, with little difficulty, be supplied until they can grow timber for themselves. The day has passed when the absence of timber was considered an insurmountable barrier to the settlement of a new country. Our citizens have learned to plant their forests and fruit orchards side by side, at an early day; and will furnish themselves with fuel and fruit in about the same length of time. The beautiful valleys, through which meander the rivers and streams of our State, are peculiarly adapted to the pro-

duction of timber. Where we now see a vast extent of prairie, without a tree or a shrub to break the monotony of the scene, we shall, in a few years, behold beautiful groves, beneath whose shade the lovely sons and daughters of the land will while away their leisure hours in the innocent amusement of rural life — noble forests, planted and reared by the hand of honest industry, waving their foliage as gracefully in the breeze as if planted by the hand of Omnipotence itself. Aside from these the land is everywhere ready for the plow; and a speedy return for his labor — that great desideratum to the new settler — is easily obtained. He will become rich while the forest farmer “makes a beginning.” Nature in the one case has been lavish, and in the other niggardly, of its blessings; although upon this subject a difference of opinion may exist. The small amount of timber required for the use of a farm can be raised with much less trouble and expense, than the land required for cultivation upon the same farm, can be cleared of a heavy growth of timber. Besides, a large proportion of the State of Iowa is said to rest upon coal beds, producing an article of good quality, and at the cheapest rate. — If this be true — and we have it from good authority — one of the greatest impediments to the settlement of the prairie portion of our State is removed. While the farmer can cultivate the surface of his farm, from beneath it he may obtain his fuel prepared for use — thus saving the labor and expense of clearing his land, pulling stumps, or plowing around them, and protecting his fuel from the storms of winter, which kind nature has already done for him. The unoccupied lands are rapidly passing from the possession of Government to the hands of actual settlers. Instead of the 825,000 acres of improved lands within our State at the taking of the last census, we probably have 2,000,000 at the present time, and at the close of the present decade, twice that amount will scarcely number the improved acres of our State. Few States possess as many agricultural advantages as Iowa. Her climate is healthy — her land is fertile, and generally well watered — her facilities for marketing are already good, and rapidly becoming better. She possesses also facilities for stock-raising unsurpassed. Her prairies afford vast ranges for summer, and an abundance of wild hay for winter. The undulating surface of the country affords shelter for stock from the keen blasts of winter which the level prairies do not afford. She has a choice of four markets: East, West, South, and at home, one or more of which will always afford remunerating prices. The East buys wheat and stock — the South also buys the former, and California the latter. Emi-

grants must also be supplied with stock and provisions until they can raise their own. We bespeak for Iowa a degree of prosperity of which her citizens will be proud; and, in the enjoyment of which they will be happy. Nature has done much for us. Let us do as much for ourselves, and we cannot avoid becoming the happiest and most prosperous people on the Globe.

— *Northwestern Farmer*, July, 1856.

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN EASTERN AND WESTERN FARMING.

There seems to be a vast difference between Eastern and Western farming; and several causes may be assigned for this difference. In the first place, the Eastern States are densely populated, and labor is plenty, and consequently cheap. That labor must be expended in producing the raw material, or in commerce or manufactures. The latter branches can exhaust but a certain quantity of that labor, consequently the balance must be expended in the former channel of industry, viz., agriculture. The natural sterility of the soil, which exists in many parts of the East, can be overcome by an extra amount of labor; and as the individuals, who compose the agricultural population, are limited in the quantity of land which they occupy, they are necessarily compelled to resort to every means within their reach, to draw from the bosom of the earth, in their respective localities, all that she is capable of producing. Not so in the West. Here, we have, generally, an abundance of land. Every farmer possesses, at least forty, and the majority of them 80, or 160 acres, and many of them, even far more. They are anxious to cultivate as many of their broad acres as possible. They think they cannot afford to hire help, especially, when times are so hard and labor so high, and, consequently, they *run over* a large amount of land, with the vain expectation of realizing as much per acre, as if it had received all the attention required to bring it to the highest state of cultivation. This difference, no one can fail to observe anywhere in the western country, to a greater or less extent. It should not be so. If every farmer would but consider that it is much less labor to cultivate 20 acres well, than to cultivate 40 acres poorly; and that the same labor expended upon the 20 acres would produce the same amount of grain or other crops, he would be very likely to come to the conclusion, that farming upon a large scale, *for the honor of it*, would scarcely repay the investment. We say, then, that one great difference between eastern and western farming, consists in our

western farmers trying to cultivate more land than they ought, with the amount of help which they employ. Cultivate thoroughly every acre which you attempt to cultivate, and you will be repaid in various ways. You will invest less money in land and fences — less labor in cultivating your land — your crops will be of a better quality, and in greater quantity, and your farm will be left in a far better condition for another year.

But the difference of which we have spoken, is not the only one which exists between eastern and western farming. In the East, farmers consider themselves *at home*. They improve their farms and buildings in such a manner as to render them permanent, useful, convenient, and comfortable. Their houses are built with a strict regard to the comfort and happiness of themselves and families, and supplied with all that can really render them so, without regard to expense; while, at the same time, a rigid economy in matters of show or display, can always be observed in their dwellings. Their barns are always erected with strict reference to the comfort of their stock, as they have become convinced, that stock well sheltered, will yield a higher degree of profit on half-feed, than stock over-fed, or well-fed, and left to the mercies of the wintry winds and storms. Their fences are neatly and permanently built. They have orchards and gardens, and various other little comforts around them, which are seldom seen upon the farms of the West. They cultivate only what land they can cultivate thoroughly; and, in fact, they generally consider themselves fixtures upon the soil they occupy. They make all their improvements with direct reference to that fact. But, how do we find this matter in the west? An eastern farmer wanders away into the "far West," in search of a fortune. He has (and we now speak of the majority of eastern men coming west) no other idea in his head, but to *make money*, and then, perhaps, return to his native State, to spend the balance of his life. Everything in the west seems to be temporary. Farmers erect buildings, and fences, to answer present purposes alone. They cultivate their farms, in every way, for temporary purposes. They are like a saloon or hotel keeper at the terminus of a railroad, who is ever ready to move farther onward [*sic*], as the railroad progresses, always aiming to be where the most money is to be made for the present, that he may make his "pile," and retire.

There are other, and important differences, between eastern and western farming, which we have not space to mention now; but which will perhaps, from [*sic*] a subject for another article. But we will say, in conclusion of

this article, to the farmers of the west; settle yourselves down for life — make all your arrangements for a permanent and life-long residence. Convince yourselves of one fact, which you all know to be true, viz., that you are living in one of the most fertile vallies that the Almighty ever created. That in all the natural resources, the East bears no comparison with the West. Convince your children of the truth of these statements. Let them never understand from your words or actions, that you do not consider yourselves firmly rooted, and immovable in the soil of the beautiful fertile valley of the Mississippi. In fact, make the west your home, and an inheritance for your posterity. It may indeed be difficult (we know it full well) to sever those ties which bind you to another spot of earth — to forget the home of your childhood, and to break off those associations of early life, which you have there formed; but when you take into consideration the welfare of those you love, the struggle between parental duty and the gratification of a feeling which can render you no real benefit, must cease, and the former prove triumphant. S. L.

— *Northwestern Farmer*, December, 1859.

HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

State Historical Society of Iowa

Dr. Frederick I. Kuhns joined the staff of the Society on November 1, 1950, as research assistant. For the past two years Dr. Kuhns has taught at Drake University, offering courses in American history and religion. A native of Dayton, Ohio, Dr. Kuhns is a graduate of Ohio State University and of Union Theological Seminary. He received his Ph. D. degree in 1947 from the University of Chicago. He collaborated with Matthew Spinka in a recent book, *A History of Illinois Congregational and Christian Churches*, and with Frederic W. Chamberlain in a centennial history, *The First Congregational Church of Three Oaks*. Articles by Dr. Kuhns have been published in the *Indiana Magazine of History*, *Michigan History*, *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, *Journal of Religion*, and *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society*. In addition, portions of his doctoral dissertation—a study of frontier missions, schools, and colleges in the Old Northwest—have been published.

The American Association for State and Local History has presented the Society with an Award of Merit in recognition of the annual Mississippi Steamboat Cruises. The Award, voted at the annual meeting of the Association at Portland, Oregon, on August 30, 1950, was given to the Society for "having developed a unique annual tour in the form of a boat excursion down the Mississippi River for the Society's members and their friends, with attendant broadcasts, newspaper publicity, and colored photography; for initiating an all-Iowa food menu; and for encouraging a dynamic education program in state and local history." On the recommendation of Superintendent William J. Petersen, Awards of Merit for outstanding editorial attention to local history were also made to the Cedar Rapids *Gazette* and the Des Moines *Register*.

In response to a request by the Society for early music, Cornell College at Mount Vernon has donated a complete file of programs and libretti of the Cornell College May Music Festival Society since its founding in 1899. The file was supplied by Dr. Paul Beckhelm, director of the Cornell College

conservatory of music. Dr. Beckhelm was aided in the collection of this material by Mr. and Mrs. Edwin R. Ristine of Mount Vernon and Mrs. Seth Thomas of Fort Dodge.

Two valuable diaries have been loaned to the Society recently for copying. Lloyd Howell of Iowa City loaned the diary of S. S. Howell, a teacher in the preparatory department of the State University of Iowa in the 1860's. This diary covers the year 1868, during which Professor Howell taught in Iowa City and made a trip to California. Russell E. Ostrus of Des Moines loaned a diary of Lars M. Olsen of Wiota, Cass County. This is a Civil War document, from July 9, 1864, to July 18, 1865, during which Olsen took part in Sherman's famous "March to the Sea." Mrs. Lida L. Greene of Albion presented the society with a copy of the *Albion News* for November 19, 1881, and a copy of *Roster of the Fourth Iowa Cavalry*.

The Society has recently added to its microfilm collection a file of the Williamsburg *Virginia Gazette*, the second oldest newspaper in America, from 1736 to 1780. A two-volume index to the paper has been published by the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, under the direction of Lester J. Cappon and Stella F. Duff. The film was prepared from all known original or photostatic copies of the paper, and thus brings together a valuable source of early American history.

A reunion of members of the Society who took part in the Mississippi Cruises was held in Iowa City on November 3, 1950. Almost one hundred members and their friends attended. Colored slides and movies of the outing were shown. Commodore O. D. Collis, owner of the *Rob Roy III*, pilot Matt J. Hadesbeck, and chief cook Musse Jensen, all of Clinton, were present for the occasion.

Tentative plans for the 1951 Mississippi Steamboat Cruises are now being made. The cruises—again on the *Rob Roy III* of Commodore O. D. Collis—will be on July 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8, and will start at Clinton and go north to the state line and back to Clinton.

SUPERINTENDENT'S CALENDAR

November 1	Attended meeting Walt Whitman Club, Des Moines.
November 8	Addressed Mount Vernon P. E. O.
November 28	Addressed Iowa City Kiwanis Club.

December 28-30 Attended meeting of American Historical Association,
Chicago.

The following persons were elected to membership in the Society from
September 1 through December 20, 1950:

<i>Adel</i>	Miss Julia E. Metier
Frank L. Gibson	Mrs. Harding Polk
<i>Ainsworth</i>	<i>Carroll</i>
J. Ernest Wagner	Mrs. Joe H. Gronstal
<i>Albia</i>	<i>Cedar Falls</i>
Mrs. H. R. Gilliland	Miss Stella Brimmer
Eugene B. Stanley	Iowa State Teachers College
<i>Algona</i>	William C. Lang
E. M. Huber	<i>Cedar Rapids</i>
<i>Amana</i>	Mrs. Louis Blaha
F. William Miller	C. U. Broadston
<i>Ames</i>	Edward F. Dose
Dr. Mary S. Lyle	Franklin High School
Mrs. F. R. White	Russell I. Hess
<i>Anamosa</i>	Rev. Christina R. McDonald
Irvin J. Hovet	Sterling F. McNelly
<i>Atlantic</i>	Joseph Mekota
Mrs. C. V. Welscher	Mrs. S. C. Platt
<i>Beaman</i>	James F. Plumb
W. Eldon Walter	Harold Waltermeyer
<i>Bedford</i>	Wilson High School
Arthur Dinwiddie	Fred J. Witousek
Karl B. Paschal	<i>Clarion</i>
<i>Bloomfield</i>	R. S. Austin
W. R. Fimmen	<i>Clinton</i>
<i>Boone</i>	Dr. George M. Ellison
Mrs. James E. Irwin	Paul F. Kamler
<i>Burlington</i>	<i>Centerville</i>
Raymond W. Baxter	Mrs. J. B. Guernsey
Henry L. Hirsch	Miss Cadd Hawkins
Mrs. Hazel S. McAnally	Mrs. Elton Hendershot
Miss Anna Marsh	C. W. Howell

- F. N. Jennings
Mrs. F. B. Leffert
Edward Powers
V. C. Price
Columbus Junction
Miss Helen E. Orr
Harold E. Ross
Council Bluffs
Harry Mauck, Jr.
Creston
Mrs. W. B. Brown
Miss Florence Prehm
Curlew
Clinton Lawver
Dallas Center
J. K. Kent
Davenport
Chris Cundiff
Mrs. S. J. Delarue
Miss Grace Frank
Joe Lindburg
Mrs. Pearl S. Maybach
Miss Virginia Nash
John Armington Parks
Davis S. Sass
Mrs. Chester U. Schaefer
Delta
Miss Ida E. Fisher
Mrs. F. X. Kendall
Des Moines
Francis W. Benedict
M. R. Disborough
R. M. Bliss
Claude W. Borrett
Kenneth R. Brown
Mrs. Percie E. Hoak
Harry Hudelson
Mrs. Harold L. Kester
Dring D. Needham
Mrs. Frank S. Root
Walter St. John
Mrs. George Schaaaf
Mrs. R. E. Spencer
Miss N. Ferne Thorne
Herbert B. Ungles
E. H. Wetherell
Mrs. Jacob Van Zwol
Douds
Harold Linge
Dubuque
Mrs. V. W. Carris
Mrs. Dalton N. Urbach
Eddyville
Mrs. Ida Barnett
Mrs. K. H. Rustan
Elkader
Raymond L. Jipson
Exira
A. F. Littlefield
Fairfield
Mrs. Carl H. Bates
Miss Harriett Conklin
Miss Helen Winn
Fayette
LaVerne K. Bowersox
Fonda
Dr. J. B. Thielen
Fort Dodge
Dr. Emerson B. Dawson
Fremont
Mrs. Grace V. Fellers
Gladbrook
J. S. Bauch
Gladbrook Ind. Schools

Hilton Gloe
D. B. Kliebensteise
Paul Klinefelter
Dr. L. G. Schaeferle
K. P. Wieland

Glenwood

Glenwood Ind. School Dist.

Grinnell

Fred Chadwick

Grundy Center

Mrs. Charles W. Reynolds

Guthrie Center

Miss Elenor Rosenberger

Guttenberg

Walter W. Jacobs

Independence

Miss Ruth Hamilton

Miss Gertrude Rigby

Don Risk

Indianola

Mrs. C. H. Mitchell

Iowa City

Mrs. Harry J. Albrecht

Charles L. Balcer

Dr. Alson E. Braley

James W. Conine

Ray Culp

George J. Degenfelder

Hugh A. Dunlap

Mrs. J. G. Gartner

LeRoy F. Gereau

Miss Nell E. Harris

Douglas L. Hill

Miss Julianne Jensen

Frederick I. Kuhns

Dr. Carroll B. Larson

Mrs. L. G. Lawyer
Dr. P. J. Leinfelder
Graham E. Marshall
Mrs. Margaret L. Nusser
Stow Persons

C. C. Ries

Sister Mary Alice, B.V.M.

Marc M. Stewart

John VanBibber

Lewis F. Wheelock

Robert B. Wylie

Iowa Falls

Rev. W. R. Yard

Keokuk

Miss Bess Blood

Mrs. Walter B. Brinker

Miss Mary B. Chappell

Mrs. Lillian B. Huiskamp

Keota

Mrs. Josephine Singmaster

Lamoni

John E. Kubec

Le Claire

Charles C. Morgan

Lenox

Mrs. Frank Maharry

Lincoln

Sylvan Ames

Lone Tree

Mrs. Martha B. Ashton

Miss Elsie Smid

Malcom

Mrs. Ray W. Cummings

Malvern

Mrs. Charles Summers

Mrs. J. F. Wearin

Maquoketa

W. H. Harrison
Dr. Clay K. Risser

Marengo

L. F. Hardenbrook

Marion

Winfield A. White

Mason City

Charles E. Cornwell
Dr. Lloyd Gustafson
W. H. Tate

Mechanicsville

Everett Ferguson

Mediapolis

Mrs. Frank C. Cling

Milford

Mrs. Myron M. Moeller

Montezuma

Mrs. Charles F. Dickson
Mrs. Paul Peterson

Monticello

Karl M. Keyes

Mt. Ayr

John A. Beard

Mt. Pleasant

Mrs. Jack Wilson

Mt. Vernon

Paul Beckhelm
Miss Bernadine Burge
Dr. F. A. Du Val
Mrs. Neil Alden Miner
J. B. Ringer
Mrs. Dana D. Wilcox
Otis E. Young

Muscatine

Marion Burzell
Miss Winifred Giesler

Miss Dorothy G. Hahn
Orville W. Ketchum
M. K. Mills, Sr.

New Sharon

Mrs. C. H. Sheridan

Northwood

Dr. H. F. Johnson

Oskaloosa

Mrs. A. C. Spurgin

Ottumwa

Herschel C. Loveless
Morrell Library
Ben Ravitz
Dr. S. F. Singer
Arnold B. Skromme
Miss Anne G. Wilson

Oxford

Adolph Sievers
T. G. Specht

Peterson

Mrs. Jimmie L. Brown

Pocahontas

Mrs. Fred M. Hudson

Randall

Randall Public Schools

Rock Rapids

Riter & Henneberg

Rock Valley

F. T. McGill

Sac City

Mrs. Hilda Lake

Sheldon

Mrs. Paul Hascall

Shenandoah

C. C. Bridges

Sibley

Mrs. Harold Koopman

Sigourney

Miss Mabel A. Paull

Mrs. Jessie White

Sioux City

Mrs. Oscar Hanson

Soldier

Loren E. Olson

Storm Lake

Albert Tymeson

Story City

Dr. Robert H. Heise

Tama

R. C. Harrison

Dr. A. J. Havlik

Toledo

L. W. Downer

Unionville

Mrs. Paul P. Hinote

Vinton

Mrs. Perle D. Stevenson

Miss Jean Urice

Wapello

Mrs. S. D. Asher

Mrs. Louis Keck

Dean H. Parsons

Mrs. M. D. Thomas

Washington

Miss Carrie A. Davis

Waterloo

Carl A. Bluedorn

Louis A. Ebel

A. J. Kies

Walter G. Kuenstling

Aaron L. Miller

Edward E. Peek

Miss Alice Reidel

Miss Lillian M. Sohner

Dr. E. W. Thielen

Dr. D. E. Walters

Edward G. Wing

Waubeeek

Mrs. Velma G. Mitchell

Waucoma

Paul R. Knox

Webster

S. T. Wheeler

Webster City

Mrs. R. H. Hahne

Mrs. G. J. Quammen

West

Elmer Graesser

West Liberty

Mrs. Mildred Madson

What Cheer

Mrs. Richard J. Axmear

Mrs. R. H. Bedford

Mrs. Tom W. Burriss

Carl Draegert

Miss Pauline Schott

Williamsburg

L. J. Tanner

Arizona

Mrs. Donald McClain, Tucson

California

Mrs. Emily Brierly Jenkins,

Alhambra

A. A. Brierly, Independence

Mrs. Avery Edward Abbott,

Los Angeles

Dr. W. E. Cody, Los Angeles

S. D. Maiden, Jr., Richmond

Miss Charlotte Skene,

San Francisco

- | | |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Mrs. Robert Gross, Van Nuys | Miss Edith M. Musgrove, |
| Mrs. Dorr Shreves, Van Nuys | St. Joseph |
| <i>Canal Zone</i> | <i>Montana</i> |
| John Terence Glancy, Cristobal | Robert N. Jones, Billings |
| <i>Illinois</i> | <i>Nebraska</i> |
| Edgar F. Brumer, Chicago | Matthew Nelson Chesire, |
| Miss Lila Woods Robinson, | Grand Island |
| Chicago | Virgil F. Ketchum, Omaha |
| Ford Snyder, Elmhurst | R. R. Moser, Sr., Omaha |
| Roy A. Tower, La Grange | Lee H. Padgett, Jr., Stella |
| Edward G. Beeson, Peoria | <i>New York</i> |
| Mrs. Mabelle M. Morrow, Peoria | Dr. Willard V. Ergenbright, |
| Cyrus Edmund Palmer, Urbana | Albany |
| <i>Indiana</i> | Mrs. H. H. Dukes, Ithaca |
| George Walter Blair, Mishawaka | <i>Virginia</i> |
| <i>Michigan</i> | Morton Macartney, Arlington |
| E. W. Allen, Birmingham | University of Virginia, |
| Roy M. Bickford, Flint | Charlottesville |
| W. D. Hoyt, Flint | <i>Washington</i> |
| Mrs. E. M. Fisher Buckley, | Mrs. S. W. Kerr, Seattle |
| Pontiac | Miss Lena Hayes, Spokane |
| <i>Minnesota</i> | |
| Dr. Owen William Parker, | |
| Duluth | |
| <i>Missouri</i> | LIFE MEMBER |
| Mrs. Richard G. Baumhoff, | <i>South Dakota</i> |
| Brentwood | Hubert W. Turner, Huron |

Iowa Historical Activities

The Wright County Historical Society held a meeting at Clarion, October 7, 1950. A membership committee was appointed, consisting of Aaron Bowman and Mrs. C. McBride of Clarion, and Josephine Uhr of Eagle Grove. The primary object of the Society is to gather material on the origin of the 4-H clubs in Wright County. The Farm Bureau is providing exhibit cases which will be placed in the courthouse lobby at Clarion. R. C. Richardson of Clarion is gathering the data on the 4-H clubs and will welcome any material others can furnish him. At the October meeting Miss

Jessie Hartsock read a paper on the early days of Goldfield, or Liberty, as it was originally named. Her paper was published in the October 19, 1950, issue of the *Eagle Grove Eagle*.

The centennial of Coe College at Cedar Rapids will be observed during the academic year, 1951-1952. The plans for the centennial are discussed in the December 3, 1950, issue of the Cedar Rapids *Gazette*.

The State Department of History and Archives at Des Moines recently purchased a microfilm unit which is being used to film the newspapers in the Archives. These films will preserve these valuable papers and also serve to conserve space.

The Dubuque County Historical Society has taken steps to preserve the pioneer log cabin in Eagle Point Park and the Julien Dubuque monument from further damage. Horace S. Poole, president, has also announced that plans are under way for the preservation of the famous Dubuque Shot Tower. The Society has been active in accumulating documents of Dubuque history, and the local D. A. R. chapter is providing temporary storage space. Another project of the Society is a planned tour of old Dubuque homes. Guy Dubuc of Montreal, Canada, recently presented the Society with some relics from the original home of Julien Dubuque in Canada.

The Guthrie County Historical Society is preparing for the celebration of the centennial of the county in July, 1951. Photographs, historical papers, antiques, and other material are being collected for the display to be sponsored by the Society.

The Secretary of the South Dakota State Historical Society, Will G. Robinson, reports that a huge rock in Peoria Bottom, a few miles from Pierre, has been discovered with the inscription: "August 10, 1863—H. W. Gaffett—Company E." Henry W. Gaffett was a private in Company E, Sixth Iowa Cavalry. He enlisted in Montgomery County, Iowa, in 1862, at the age of twenty-six, and served until October 17, 1865, when he was mustered out. This boulder would be under the water of the Oahe Dam when it is completed, but Secretary Robinson is planning to have it removed and placed on the grounds of the South Dakota Historical Society. In 1863 Camp Peoria, which was garrisoned by the Sixth Iowa Cavalry and the Thirtieth Wisconsin Infantry, was near the site of the boulder.

An historical museum of unusual interest at Cherokee will be opened to the public sometime in the spring or summer of 1951. The museum, to be known as the Sanford Memorial Historical Building, has been donated by Mr. and Mrs. W. A. Sanford in memory of their son, Tiel. In addition to historical rooms and displays, there will be a planetarium, one of the first in Iowa. W. D. Frankforter, a graduate of the University of Nebraska, has been appointed as Curator.

HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

Book Notes

Our More Perfect Union: From Eighteenth-Century Principles to Twentieth-Century Practice. By Arthur N. Holcombe. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1950. \$6.00.) Dr. Holcombe, professor of government at Harvard, has written of the American Constitution and its development in the light of the principles of its founders. This is not a standard history of the Constitution, but a discussion of its principles applied to the whole range of American history. It is, in the author's words, "a critical essay on the Constitution of the United States."

The Blue and the Gray: The Story of the Civil War as Told by Participants. Edited by Henry Steele Commager. (Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1950. 2 vols., \$12.00.) Here is history written by the "participants," from Abraham Lincoln and the generals to the unknown boys in blue and gray who did the actual fighting. Dr. Commager's purpose in preparing these two volumes was to "present a well-rounded . . . history of the Civil War in the words of those who fought it." From the nomination of Lincoln in the Wigwam at Chicago to the "Sunset of the Confederacy," some 450 different accounts have been gathered together to produce a valuable collection of source material. Pictures and maps add to the attractiveness of the volumes.

The Emergence of Lincoln. By Allan Nevins. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1950. 2 vols., \$12.50.) In these two volumes Dr. Nevins continues the story of pre-Civil War conflict begun in his two-volume *Ordeal of the Union*, published in 1947. Volume I — "Douglas, Buchanan, and Party Chaos, 1857-1859" — covers the nation-shaking events of the Dred Scott Decision, "Melodrama in Kansas," and the Lincoln-Douglas debates in Illinois, and closes with the end of the deadlocked Thirty-fifth Congress on March 5, 1859. Stephen A. Douglas dominates this volume, just as Abraham Lincoln dominates the second: "Prologue to Civil War, 1859-1861." This is not wholly a political history, however. Every phase of American life is dealt with, and these two volumes, together with the earlier

Ordeal of the Union, present a clear picture of the America of 1848 to 1861.

The Iowa Pool: A Study in Railroad Competition, 1870-84. By Julius Grodinsky. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1950. \$4.00.) The first flush of railroad expansion had hardly passed, in the 1860's and 1870's, before freight rate wars resulted in many bankruptcies. To avoid this ruinous form of competition, several Middle Western railroads evolved the idea of pooling their freight returns, thus eliminating the evils of competition which had ruined many eastern roads. The Burlington, the Rock Island, the Northwestern, and various subsidiary roads formed the "Iowa Pool." Dr. Grodinsky of the University of Pennsylvania has made a clear and objective study of the origin, development, and operations of this "Pool."

Grass of the Earth: Immigrant Life in the Dakota Country. By Aagot Raaen. (Northfield, Minn., Norwegian-American Historical Assn., 1950. \$3.00.) This is a delightfully written reminiscence of early days in the Dakotas, interspersed with bits of letters and diaries. Miss Raaen has pictured the life of hardy Norwegian pioneers on the American frontier — candle-making, soap-making, the many duties of farm children and their parents, school-days, and all the serious problems of growing up which faced the family. In his introduction, Dr. Theodore C. Blegen writes: "The book is more than reminiscence — it is a book of history whose undertones vibrate in American life, far beyond the Dakota settlement where the story runs its course."

The Old Northwest: Pioneer Period, 1815-1840. By R. Carlyle Buley. (Indianapolis, Indiana Historical Society, 1950. 2 vols., \$12.00.) There is little of the life of the Old Northwest — "the first colony of the United States" — which Dr. Buley has not covered in these two volumes. From the everyday life of the pioneers, their social, economic, and cultural activities, to local and national politics, the author has written of the early years of this rich area of America. The volumes are based on voluminous research among manuscripts, newspapers, and published material, and they represent regional history at its best.

Frontier Mother: The Letters of Gro Svendsen. Translated and edited by Pauline Farseth and Theodore C. Blegen. (Northfield, Minn., Norwegian-American Historical Assn., 1950. \$2.50.) Gro Svendsen, "frontier

mother," came to America with her husband in 1862, and settled near Estherville, Iowa, where she lived until her death in 1878 at the age of thirty-seven. She wrote many letters to her family in Norway. These letters were preserved there and have been translated by Pauline Farseth and prepared for publication by Theodore C. Blegen of the University of Minnesota. They tell not only of family affairs, but of the life and times on the Iowa frontier in the sixties and seventies, and are valuable source material for those who wish to reconstruct the past.

Pioneer Life in Kentucky, 1785-1800. By Daniel Drake, M. D. Edited by Emmet Field Horine, M. D. (New York, Henry Schuman, 1948. \$4.00.) This work of Dr. Drake has been called "the greatest of all Kentucky books." It consists of a series of letters written in the 1840's as a result of the request of members of his family that the doctor give them a family record. The letters were originally published in 1870 and were reprinted in 1907. Both books are now very scarce; thus, this third edition, prepared by Dr. Emmet Field Horine, again makes this important source book available.

Life's Picture History of World War II. (New York, Time, Inc., 1950. \$10.00.) In this book the editors of *Life* have gathered together, in some 360 pages, the outstanding pictures made by their photographers during World War II. Divided into twelve sections, with introductory explanatory material by John Dos Passos, the story is told from the "Conquest of Europe" to "Victory in the Pacific."

Main Line of Mid-America: The Story of the Illinois Central. By Carlton J. Corliss. (New York, Creative Age Press, 1950. \$4.75.) As the 100th birthday of many Middle Western railroads approaches, anniversary histories are being published. The Illinois Central Railroad, founded in 1851, is now 100 years old. Mr. Corliss has written the story of the construction and transportation problems of the road. Of interest to Iowans will be the part played by Iowa and Iowans in the building of one of the main east-west lines in the state.

Illinois Central Railroad Company: A Centennial Bibliography, 1851-1951. Compiled by Helen R. Richardson. (Washington, D. C., Association of American Railroads, 1950.) This bibliography, of 227 pages, lists published material and documents relating to the long history of the Illinois Central. The material is arranged by years and will prove of value to historians interested in railroad history.

Articles

Much has been written about Lincoln's 1860 nomination in the famous Chicago Wigwam, but little heed has been given to his 1864 Baltimore nomination by the Union party made up of Republicans and war-Democrats. An account of this convention is contributed to the September, 1950, *Maryland Magazine of History* by William F. Zornow in an article entitled "The Union Party Convention at Baltimore in 1864."

Within recent years a biographer and a novelist have claimed for Anna Ella Carroll the authorship of Grant's famous Tennessee River Campaign during the Civil War. Miss Carroll has been called "the great unrecognized member of Lincoln's cabinet." These claims are discussed, and disproved, by Kenneth P. Williams in "The Tennessee River Campaign and Anna Ella Carroll," in the September, 1950, *Indiana Magazine of History*. His research shows that the Tennessee River Campaign had been planned before Miss Carroll presented her suggestions to President Lincoln, thus exploding the myth started by Miss Carroll herself and continued in the present day by overenthusiastic but inaccurate popularizers.

With the Autumn, 1950, issue, the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* appeared in an attractive new format. The following articles add to the interest in this different type of state publication: "Isaac P. Walker: Reformer in Mid-Century Politics," by Merle Curti; "One Hundred Years of Wisconsin State Fairs," by Einar O. Hammer; "Frederick Jackson Turner and the Milwaukee *Sentinel*, 1884," by Fulmer Mood; and "Wisconsin Pioneers in Scandinavian Studies: Anderson and Olson, 1875-1931," by Einar Haugen.

"The Frontier Literary Society," an important feature in the social life of the pioneers, is discussed by Edward Everett Dale in the September, 1950, *Nebraska History*. Other articles in the same issue are: "William Jennings Bryan and the Nebraska Senatorial Election of 1893," by Paolo E. Coletta; Part III of "Lines West! — The Story of George W. Holdrege," by Thomas M. Davis; and an important critique of the writings of James C. Malin on grasslands history by Thomas H. Le Duc.

The problems of finding, preserving, and using manuscript material are discussed in the September, 1950, *Oregon Historical Quarterly* by Herbert A. Kellar, William N. Bischoff, Harry C. Bauer, and S. K. Stevens. Mr. Stevens makes the very important point that it is not only the papers and

documents of the "great" men of American history that should be preserved and used by historians, but also the papers of state politicians, which, he claims, "could shed more light today on our national political history than is provided by everything in the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress." Political, social, and cultural history are revealed in the documents of the "little" men of America. "We need the papers of the common man and the common leader as well as those of the aristocracy," Mr. Stevens points out. The account books of businesses — both mercantile and agricultural — are also of value for preservation.

An aspect of the history of the theater in the Upper Mississippi Valley has been neglected: "Early Showboat and Circus in the Upper Valley," by Joseph S. Schick, in the October, 1950, *Mid-America*, is a contribution to a little-known phase of theatrical history.

The October, 1950, *Missouri Historical Review* contains the following articles: "A Moral Crusade: The Influence of Protestantism on Frontier Society in Missouri," by Leslie Gamblin Hill; "Recollections of Kansas City, 1866-1916," by Mary L. McCarty; and Part III of "The Civil War Letters of Colonel Bazel F. Lazear," edited by Vivian K. McLarty.

The American-Canadian "unguarded frontier" is discussed in the October, 1950, issue of *The American Historical Review* by C. P. Stacey in "The Myth of the Unguarded Frontier, 1815-1871." The frontier was, in fact, not "unguarded" until the seventies of the nineteenth century, the author points out; until, in fact, the conflicts between America and Britain had been replaced by the larger conflicts of the world. In the same issue Frederick Rudolph contributes an article on "The American Liberty League, 1934-1940," a discussion of the anti-New Deal activities of the hectic thirties.

In 1900 William Scully owned some 200,000 acres of farmland in Illinois, Nebraska, Kansas, and Missouri — probably the largest holding of land in the United States at that time. The November, 1950, issue of *The Kansas Historical Quarterly* contains an article on "The Scully Land System in Marion County" by Homer E. Socolofsky, in which the author recounts the Scully methods of acquiring and renting out his large holdings. An interesting document, published in the same issue of the *Quarterly*, is "Memoirs of Watson Stewart: 1855-1860," edited by Donald W. Stewart. Watson Stewart wrote these memoirs, of his experiences with the Kansas Vegetarian Colony, in his seventy-sixth year.

The October, 1950, issue of *Agricultural History* contains the following articles: "Ceres and the American Men of Letters Since 1929," by Clayton S. Ellsworth; "Achille Loria's Influence on American Economic Thought," by Lee Benson; "The Disposal of the Public Domain on the Trans-Mississippi Plains: Some Opportunities for Investigation," by Thomas Le Duc; and "Collective Bargaining in the Lumber Industry of the Upper Great Lakes States," by George B. Engberg.

Articles in the December, 1950, issue of *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* are: "The Control of the Real Estate Bank of the State of Arkansas, 1836-1855," by Ted R. Worley; "The American Heritage of Hope, 1865-1904," by Boyd C. Shafer; "Medical Care of Ebenezer Pettigrew's Slaves," by Bennett H. Wall; "Frank Parsons: The Professor as Crusader," by Arthur Mann; and "The Status of the Midwestern Farmer in 1900," by Fred A. Shannon.

Dr. Earle D. Ross of Iowa State College has contributed an article to the December, 1950, *Indiana Magazine of History*: "Religious Influences in the Development of State Colleges and Universities."

Several articles of general interest appear in the November, 1950, issue of the *Pacific Historical Review*. "Lincoln Rails in the California Presidential Campaign of 1860," by Henry Winfred Splitter, is a brief and amusing account of the shipment of three rails — supposedly cut by the famous rail-splitter himself — to California for use in the campaign. Two labor history articles are: "Labor Troubles in the Mining Camp at Goldfield, Nevada, 1906-1908," by Russell R. Elliott; and "The West Coast Phase of the Maritime Strike of 1921," by Giles T. Brown. In "The Election of 1898 in California," Harold F. Taggart discusses an election which was significant because "it marked the collapse of an agrarian revolt and ushered in a period of one-party dominance that was to continue until 1933."

The Oklahoma Historical Society has recently received a valuable collection of the original journals, manuscripts, drawings, paintings, maps, charts, and other data of General A. W. Whipple. The material relates to the Mexican Boundary Survey of 1851 and the Pacific Railroad Survey through Oklahoma in 1853. The Autumn, 1950, issue of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* contains a short sketch of Whipple's life by Francis R. Stoddard; an itemized list of the Whipple collection by Charles Evans; and "The

Journal of Lieutenant A. W. Whipple," edited by Muriel H. Wright and George H. Shirk.

Iowa

The Summer, 1950, issue of the *Iowa Law Review* is devoted to "A Symposium to the Memory of Wiley B. Rutledge," with articles by Hugo L. Black, Fred M. Vinson, Irving Brant, W. Willard Wirtz, Victor Brudney, Richard F. Wolfson, Nathaniel L. Nathanson, Fowler Harper, Albert Abel, and Howard Mann.

The October, 1950, issue of *Annals of Iowa* is devoted to a long article on "Iowa Department of Public Instruction: Its Origin and Development," by John Purcell Street.

Sergeant Charles Floyd, a member of the Lewis and Clark expedition of 1804-1805, died on August 20, 1804, on the shores of the Missouri River near the future site of Sioux City. The monument which now marks his grave was erected by the Floyd Memorial Association. The story of this monument, with old pictures from the 1895 dedication, appears in the November 26, 1950, issue of the *Sioux City Journal*.

Most of the cabins first built by the pioneers of Iowa have long since disappeared, but in Highland Township, Washington County, a log cabin built in 1878 is still standing, although unoccupied. It was built by Joseph Hagan of logs cut on the spot. Mrs. John Skubal has written the story of this cabin for the December 4, 1950, issue of the *Washington Journal*.

A brief history of the Sigourney Methodist Church, which celebrated its centennial in November, 1950, appeared in the November 23, 1950, issue of the *Sigourney News*.

The *Algona Upper Des Moines*, which traces its history back to 1865, was first edited by a woman, Mrs. Lizzie B. Read. The story of Mrs. Read and her venture into journalism is told in the October 24, 1950, issue of the *Upper Des Moines*.

The Adel Methodist Church celebrated its centennial on November 19, 1950. The history of the church is told in the November 15, 1950, issue of the *Adel Dallas County News*, and in the November 19 issue of the *Des Moines Register*.

The Brigade Band of the Iowa National Guard, an Eldora group, was famous in the decades from 1880 to 1900. It was invited to play at the St. Louis Democratic convention which nominated Grover Cleveland and at the Chicago Republican convention which nominated Benjamin Harrison. A picture of the band, holding English-made instruments which the players won in a contest in Chicago in 1880, appeared in the November 7, 1950, issue of the Eldora *Herald Ledger*.

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COVER

Fort Dodge in 1852. This is a pencil sketch drawn by Major William Williams, the founder of Fort Dodge, who is mentioned frequently in the "Early Recollections of Fort Dodge," which appears in this issue of the JOURNAL on pages 168 to 184.

DISEASES AND DOCTORS IN PIONEER IOWA

By William J. Petersen

Fever and ague shook the Iowa frontier in 1838. Disease stalked the Black Hawk Purchase, and few pioneers escaped its "scorpion sting." The number of deaths from all causes during the summer and fall was appalling. On the evening of September 15 William Janes died of apoplexy. His daughter and her husband had only recently been the "target for the shafts of the archer, Death," leaving the remaining members of the family "borne down by the deepest affliction." A Burlington editor exclaimed: "Awful fatality!" Such gloomy notices were common. On October 1 the second death within a fortnight struck the home of James McKeel in lower Burlington, carrying away the son and namesake of the bereaved father. "The death of *James*," declared the *Iowa Territorial Gazette*, "is particularly lamented, owing to the fact, that no one suspected his weakness. On Monday morning, he was about the house as usual; in the middle of the day, he was taken with a chill, and the following night was a corpse!"¹

The "peculiarly unhealthy" summer of 1838 greatly alarmed the Iowa editor. Death had not been partial but had struck rich and poor alike. "He has been seen and felt in his might and terror, in the whole western and southern country," the editor pointed out.

Iowa has suffered — deeply suffered, but no more, if not much less, than many other places. Our people have been sick, but thank God, not unto death. Their diseases have been generally of a mild character, yielding to art and science — but not so elsewhere. In the south and south-west a gloomier and sadder tale must be told. There science and medical skill were mocked at, and the victim of disease was too frequently the victim of death. So has it been, but in not so great a degree, in Missouri, Illinois and Indiana, and perhaps Michigan and Wisconsin. The summer of eighteen hundred and thirty eight will long be remembered — and bitterly remembered. It will be characterized as the *sickly summer*.²

¹ Burlington *Iowa Territorial Gazette*, Oct. 6, 1838.

² *Ibid.*, Oct 13, 1838.

It was not customary for frontier editors to paint such dismal pictures; normally western newspapers contained columns of laudatory remarks about the soil and climate, hoping these would be reprinted by eastern exchanges and lure others westward. Land speculators and townsite owners were often surpassed by explorers and gazetteers in their eulogy of the salubrious climate of the Upper Mississippi Valley. The mere mention of sickness in any form was studiously avoided. From the economic point of view a healthy location was just as effective a magnet in attracting settlers as rich, cheap, and abundant land.

The average pioneer, anxious to attract immigrants to his section in order to secure the unearned increment of increased population, grossly misrepresented conditions in neighboring states. When John Regan arrived at Burlington in 1839, he quickly heard the praises of the Black Hawk Purchase. "I tell ye what, strangers," Regan's landlord remarked, "there aint no State in all this western country can begin to compare with Iowa for nat'ral advantages, for either wood, water, or prairie, not by a long chalk. Illinoy's little better than a blamed ma'sh from en' to en'. Fever and ague by gauly's all the go for more'n one half of the year and it takes t'other half to recruit and do up the chores. Iowa's the word, I say. . . . Talk of land! why now, strangers, it's a'most too good to be named on the same day with your Illinoy, Indiana, and Wisconsin flats."³

Despite such praise John Regan chose Illinois. Some years later, when a prospective emigrant inquired about Iowa, Regan suggested he would find Illinois better despite higher land prices. After pointing out that there was a "far better chance" of enjoying health in Illinois, Regan concluded: "A nine month's ague-fit will perhaps bring my words to remembrance. In short,

My advice, if timely 'taken,'

May save the wise from being 'well shaken.'"⁴

Rivalry was characteristic of every section of the American frontier. Owners of townsites would stop at nothing to inveigle prospective settlers. On one occasion the prevalence of fever and ague was retarding the sale of lots in a newly platted Iowa town. A stranger, pleased with the appearance of the country, stopped to inquire concerning the health of the

³ John Regan, *The Emigrant's Guide to the Western States of America* . . . (Edinburgh [1852]), 36.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 401.

place. "'Oh, extraordinarily healthy,' said the proprietor. 'The fact is stranger, we had to send to Illinois to get a corpse to start our burying grounds.' As the 'stranger' was from Illinois, he concluded not to remain, as 'more seed' might be wanted." ⁵

In 1860 a Sioux City paper expressed delight over the salubrious climate of the Hawkeye State when compared with the Wolverine State. "Michigan, not Iowa, is the great fever and ague State," the editor chortled. "There, it is no uncommon thing for all the steeples to be shook from the churches during a sickly season, and the bones of able bodied men have been shook out of the hide without causing any particular remark. In that State they have almanacs to take quinine by." ⁶

The importance of sickness and disease on the frontier is apparent. Nor can it be denied that the pioneers of Iowa suffered the whole gamut of physical disability. Since doctors were few and medical knowledge at a low ebb, it was often necessary for the pioneer to rely on Indian medicine or simple home remedies. The germ theory had not yet been advanced by Pasteur, and superstition governed much of the pioneer's conduct with respect to disease. A few of the more common ailments were the prairie itch, fever and ague, and cholera. The first two were common yearly ailments, while cholera broke out in 1832 and again in 1849. From yellowed newspaper files, from books of travel, from gazetteers, from the reminiscences of frontier settlers and pioneer doctors, and from early medical journals and military diaries come these thumbnail sketches concerning health and medicine in the squatter settlements of Iowa and the Upper Mississippi Valley.

The prairie itch was typical of those frontier ailments that were more irritating than dangerous. Elisha W. Keyes recalls that:

It was a disease that was never known to prove fatal, though it was very annoying and frequently productive of a good deal of profanity; but it had to be endured as patiently as possible, for, as I remember, there were no means ever discovered to cure it. It really had to wear itself out. I allude to that old affliction which the old settlers certainly cannot have forgotten, known as prairie itch. It was very amusing at times to see a whole family out around a log house, leaning against the butt ends of the logs, scratching first one shoulder and then the other, reaching points

⁵ Davenport *Weekly Gazette*, Oct. 27, 1859.

⁶ Sioux City *Register*, Jan. 21, 1860.

that they could not easily touch with their hands. One mill-hand whom we had at work for us, had this thing lay hold of him most savagely. He said he never was so happy, never felt so well in his life, as he did when he stood before a rousing fire at night time and could scratch.⁷

The causes of the prairie itch were difficult to trace. It is believed today to have been caused by the scabies — a mite burrowing into the none-too-clean bodies of the pioneers. In some instances, of course, it may have been some form of occupational itch. One contemporary authority asserted that it was a "cutaneous eruption caused by the friction of the fine red dust of prairie countries in summer." Others suggested it might be due to change in climate, diet, or water. Many pioneers may have suffered from their red flannels, or from the strong homemade soap used on garments. In pioneer Iowa the mother applied a lotion from the roots of the skunk-cabbage and firmly administered the honored remedy — sulphur and molasses. Harmless as it was, apparently no sure cure was found for the prairie itch.⁸

Fever and ague was perhaps the most common complaint in the Mississippi Valley. Edmund Flagg called it the "scourge of the West."⁹ The pioneers almost universally called it the "shakes," and a wealth of testimony has been left to demonstrate the aptness of this expression. Neither doctors nor patients suspected that mosquitoes were to blame for the shakes. They thought malaria emanated from the soil because it seemed to be more prevalent in newly settled districts. It was supposed to be caused by the "miasma . . . produced by the decomposition of vast quantities of vegetable matter" released from freshly broken sod.¹⁰ A doctor writing in the *Journal of Health* in 1871 referred to the "subtle" character of the "miasm" which for more than a century had baffled the "greatest skill of the ablest chemists."¹¹ Early settlers seemed to accept the ague as

⁷ Elisha W. Keyes, "Early Days in Jefferson County," *Collections*, Wisconsin Historical Society, 11:429 (1888).

⁸ John Russell Bartlett, *Dictionary of Americanisms* (1877).

⁹ Edmund Flagg, *The Far West: or, A Tour Beyond the Mountains . . .* (2 vols., New York, 1838), 2:204.

¹⁰ Judge [James] Hall, *Letters from the West . . .* (London, 1828), 369. See also Charles Lindsey, *The Prairies of the Western States . . .* (Toronto, 1860), 47-8; Regan, *Emigrant's Guide . . .*, 114; W. W. Merritt, Sr., *A History of the County of Montgomery . . .* (Red Oak, 1906), 182.

¹¹ Reprinted in *Scientific American*, 25:337 (Nov. 25, 1871).

one of the natural hardships of pioneering. It was not until the close of the nineteenth century that the mosquito was identified as the true cause of malaria.

The scourge of fever and ague was noted by many immigrants. A New England girl bound up the Mississippi on a steamboat recalls the following conversation between her mother and the captain.

As we drew near Burlington, in front of a little hut on the river bank, sat a girl and a lad — most pitiable looking objects, uncared for, hollow-eyed, sallow-faced. They had crawled out into the warm sun with chattering teeth to see the boat pass. To mother's inquiries, the captain said: "If you've never seen that kind of sickness I reckon you must be a Yankee; that's the ague. I'm feared you'll see plenty of it if you stay long in these parts. They call it here the swamp devil, and it will take the roses out of the cheeks of those plump little ones of yours mighty quick. Cure it? No, madam. No cure for it; have to wear it out. I had it a year when I first went on the river."¹²

Stricken by the dismal outlook, the immigrants decided not to locate near the river but moved inland.

Ample testimony has been left of the ravages of fever and ague among those early Iowa pioneers. Granville Stuart long remembered fever and ague in Cedar County.

During all this time, we just shook, and shook, and shook, with the ague. We could only eat when the chill was on us, being too sick when the fever was on. I well remember how the cup would rattle against my teeth when I tried to drink and how, while trying to put the food in my mouth I would nearly put it in my ear, and how my spleen (commonly called the "melt" in those days) was swollen and felt hard as a piece of wood just below my ribs. This was known as ague cake. Almost everybody in that thinly settled part of Iowa would have the ague part of the time. Fortunately it was seldom fatal, but I can still see how thin and pale and woe-be-gone everyone looked.¹³

Asked how the fever and ague felt, one pioneer replied:

Oh, its the meanest kyn of a trouble . . . after the fit's over,

¹² Truman O. Douglass, *The Pilgrims of Iowa* (Boston, 1911), 25.

¹³ Granville Stuart, *Forty Years on the Frontier* . . . (2 vols., Cleveland, 1925), 1:28. For another description of ague, see Mildred Throne (ed), "The Memories of Aristarchus Cone," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 49:68 (January, 1951).

you ain't content to lie in bed, an' you're not fit to do anything. First, your fingers begin to feel chilly, an' your whole flesh creeps with the cold feel—then you'd think somebody was pouring cold water down your back—at last you're all like to freeze, an' all the fires in creation wouldn't warm you. After you chatter your teeth for a couple of hours, then the fever comes, and lasts maybe as long. So then, you're by for that day an' the next; but if you aint mighty cautious, it'll turn into a daily aguer, an' oh! (*shudders*) then you'll ketch it in style.¹⁴

The pioneer family could usually hope for at least one healthy member to care for the afflicted. But what of those two Wisconsin bachelors who fell victims of the "bilious fever and ague" during the fall of 1838?

Help could not be obtained, but ague comes so regularly to torture its victims that, knowing the exact hour of its approach, we could prepare in advance for it, and have our water, gruel, boneset and quinine ready and within reach. We knew when we would shake, but not the degree of fever that would follow. The delirium of the fever would fill our minds with strange fancies. On one occasion I came home with the ague fit upon me, hitched my horses with wagon attached to a post and went into the house. . . . I threw myself on the bed, and the fever soon following, I knew nothing till morning, when I found the team still hitched to the post, and in their hunger, eating it.¹⁵

A description of fever and ague from the *Scientific American* of 1872 read:

It comes creeping up a fellow's back like a tun of wild cats, goes crawling up his joints like iron spikes, and is followed by a fever which prohibits the patient from thinking of anything but the Independent Order of Good Templars. It isn't the "every other day" kind, but gets up with a man at daylight, and sleeps in the small of his back all night. His teeth feel about six inches too long, his joints wobble like a loose wagon wheel, and the shakes are so steady that he can't hold any sort of conversation except by putting in the dashes.¹⁶

John Regan never heard of anyone who died of the ague but had knowledge of many deaths from bilious fever. Regan could speak from bitter experience concerning the latter, which appears to have been malaria

¹⁴ Regan, *Emigrant's Guide* . . . , 395.

¹⁵ W. H. C. Folsom, *Fifty Years in the Northwest* . . . (St. Paul, 1888), 16.

¹⁶ *Scientific American*, 27:1-2 (July 6, 1872).

with a liver involvement accompanied by the vomiting of bile. Regan, it will be recalled, arrived in 1839 and chose the Illinois side of the Mississippi in preference to Iowa. He set to work at once building himself a house. During the harvest season he worked in the fields, rejoicing in his healthy constitution, never dreaming that his good health would fail him. One day, while storing some of his Indian corn, Regan felt a "curious languor" creeping over him, accompanied by a "certain feverishness" and a "bitter taste" in the mouth.

I went home, and sat down, but presently a lie on the bed appeared still more desirable. The feverishness increased as the night advanced, and towards morning a perspiration came on which produced great relief. For the first two days I supposed the thing was nothing more than the effects of a bad cold; but as I rapidly got worse, on the fourth day I sent for one Dr. Weld, who pronounced my disease to be bilious fever, of the very worst type.

"I'm sorry," said the doctor, "I wasn't called in earlier. All the diseases of this country are much easier managed when taken early, before they have got established in the system. However, I guess we'll get along yet. You'll require some drastic medicine."

With this remark Dr. Weld poured out nearly a tablespoonful of calomel, which was to be given Regan in a single dose, "mixed with a leetle molasses." Dr. Weld promised to call the next day, perhaps to see the results of this potent dose. Regan continued:

Like all other confiding patients, I swallowed the nostrum, and then came the tug of war. Of all the hearty go-ahead medicines calomel takes the lead. The way that "drastic" operated "was a caution." The fact is, I actually thought that from vomiting and purging I was really about to be turned inside out. The enormous quantity of bitter bile thrown up from the stomach was enough to have procured the death of any man with whom it might be permitted to remain. Desperate diseases they say require desperate cures, and this was desperate enough. The fever was fairly frightened off, and the next day I lay apparently more dead than alive, in a state of the most extreme prostration. That day nor the next the doctor did not call, but on the third day he made his appearance.

"How be ye all?" inquired he with subdued accents. "Did he take all the medicine at once?"

"Why didn't you call as you promised?" said I.

"Wal, the fact is I didn't think there was much use in callin' —

I thought you'd have been dead."

"Why?"

"Why jest because — I gev you as much calomel yonder, as would hev killed or cured a hoss. There wa'n't anything else for you. It was either kill or cure, an' you're a mighty tough feller that stood it, now I tell you; but I guess you'll git along now."

"For eight weeks," Regan concludes, "I was unable, from the weakness and debility produced by that horrid dose, to even attempt to cross the floor of my cottage. By degrees, I 'got along,' however, thoroughly impressed with the most expansive ideas on the subject of 'drastic medicines' in general, and of CALOMEL in particular."¹⁷

Many of the pioneers chose to prescribe their own medicine, aided no doubt by the numerous nostrums which were advertised as sure cures for all ailments. At Dubuque, Timothy Mason's Good Samaritan Drug Store advised the afflicted that Dr. John Sappington's Anti-Bilious Pills were a "certain remedy for the cure and prevention of Ague and Fever, Typhus Fever, etc. etc."¹⁸ At this time quinine pills were used so extensively throughout the Upper Mississippi Valley that the supply was often exhausted. According to Dr. Egbert S. Barrows, Sappington's pills were "indirectly the power which worked steamboats up the river" and were used in many households. Each box contained four dozen pills, and each pill contained two grains of quinine.¹⁹

Residents of Bloomington, Iowa, must have gained real comfort in 1841 when they read that Peters' Pills were the best "vegetable anti-bilious" pills in use. These pills were the "scientific compound" of a "regular physican" who was "bred to the healing art" and had made his profession the "study of his life." But this was not all. Dr. Peters had graduated from Yale College and the Medical College of Berkshire, Massachusetts. Diplomas from both these institutions could be seen hanging in his office on Liberty Street in New York City. With such a rich background, no frontiersman was bold enough to deny the merits of Dr. Peters' fabulous cure-all. Peters' Pills were guaranteed to cure bilious fever, fever and ague, dyspepsia, liver complaints, sick headache, jaundice, asthma,

¹⁷ Regan, *Emigrant's Guide* . . ., 232-3.

¹⁸ Dubuque *Iowa News*, Sept. 15, 1838.

¹⁹ Harry E. Downer, *History of Davenport and Scott County, Iowa* (2 vols., Chicago, 1910), 1:498.

dropsy, rheumatism, enlargement of the spleen, piles, colic, female obstructions, furred tongue, heartburn, nausea, distension of the stomach and the bowels, incipient diarrhea, flatulence, habitual costiveness, loss of appetite, and blotched or sallow complexion. In addition to all this, the pills were guaranteed not to produce nausea, griping, or debility in cases where a cathartic or aperient was needed because of "torpor of the bowels." Well might the poets sing:

The King of Terrors looked awhile,
As though his soul was turned to bile,
At that unsparing scourge of ills,
By all men known as Peters' Pills.
These Pills of Peters stop the slaughter,
And leaves the blood as pure as water.
Now Peter makes, I've heard him say,
Five hundred thousand pills a day;
So that the chance is very small
Of people dying there at all,
For soon the cheeks, so marked for doom,
Begin like any rose to bloom.²⁰

The claims of these quack medicines were well-nigh unlimited. According to a Cincinnati editor they apparently could "Create an appetite in the most delicate stomach, or physic a horse." A single remedy was supposed to be good for any ailment. "One pill dissolved in a bucket of water," scoffed the editor, "will be found a perfectly winter-proof lining for canal embankments; placed in steamboat boilers, they will effectually prevent their bursting, [and] greatly increase the speed of the boats."²¹

Perhaps no sickness was dreaded more than cholera, a plague that swept thousands of Upper Mississippi Valley pioneers to their graves in 1832. This epidemic struck with sudden and fatal force. Although permanent settlement in Iowa did not begin until 1833, the ravages were felt among the troops engaged in the Black Hawk War. One hundred soldiers fell victims within two weeks at Fort Crawford alone. Soldiers under Major General Winfield Scott were struck by the scourge while crossing the Great Lakes from Buffalo to Chicago. The only surgeon aboard General Scott's steamboat became panic-stricken and, according to Scott, "gulped down half a bottle of wine; went to bed sick, and ought to have died."

²⁰ Bloomington *Herald*, Nov. 14, 1841.

²¹ Burlington *Wisconsin Territorial Gazette*, Feb. 24, 1838.

Undaunted by the horrors of death, "Old Fuss and Feathers" personally ministered to the suffering soldiers with tender care. His losses from cholera were greater than the casualties suffered by the regulars and militia throughout the Black Hawk War.²²

The Dubuque lead mines did not escape the scourge; not less than fifty deaths occurred during the summer of 1833. A blacksmith named James Frith was attacked while working in his shop. So "violent were the paroxysms under which he writhed" that several able-bodied men were required to hold him down. A woman who "incautiously inhaled the odor of a preparation" administered to the blacksmith became ill with cholera. Both she and her child died two days after being attacked. During the epidemic, business, mining, improvements, and all other activity came to a standstill. Only two doctors were present to minister to the mushroom settlement. Scarcely a day passed but some unfortunate pioneer was carried to his grave. Many fled from the Dubuque mines, others are said to have turned back in terror upon hearing the gloomy reports.²³

Immigrants were urged to be extremely careful in their diet and not run to excess of any kind. A little nutmeg or essence of peppermint and water added to some burnt cork, poured in a teaspoonful of brandy and mashed with loaf sugar was considered by some a sure cure for cholera. During the forties cholera victims probably breathed more freely on learning that four or five of Wright's Indian Vegetable Pills taken each night on retiring would quickly "rid the body of every description of suffering."²⁴

In spite of these nostrums, cholera took a heavy toll during the late forties and early fifties. It appeared again on Lower Mississippi steamboats in December of 1848 and quickly spread to the Upper Mississippi Valley. Six Trappist monks from Waterford, Ireland, bound for Dubuque aboard the steamboat *Constitution* died of cholera near St. Louis in 1849. Two hundred and thirty-six cases existed in Quincy that year. Some

²² William J. Petersen, "The Terms of Peace," *The Palimpsest*, 13:74-5 (February, 1932); "Dr. Samuel C. Muir," *Collections*, Wisconsin Historical Society, 10:492 (1883-1885); John H. Fonda, "Early Wisconsin," *ibid.*, 5:259 (1867-1869); Moses M. Strong, "The Indian Wars of Wisconsin," *ibid.*, 8:285 (1877-1879); J. W. Rich, "A Blackhawk Veteran and an Iowa Pioneer," *Iowa Historical Record*, 10:2 (January, 1894).

²³ [C. Childs], *History of Dubuque County, Iowa . . .* (Chicago, 1880), 351-2.

²⁴ *Galena Daily Advertiser*, April 2, 3, 1849; *St. Louis Missouri Republican*, Sept. 20, 1824; *Northwestern Gazette and Galena Advertiser*, Aug. 24, 1847; John M. Peck, *Annals of the West . . .* (St. Louis, 1851), 808.

immigrants aboard the *West Newton* in 1850 saw six dead bodies floating in the Mississippi River — evidently poor passengers who had been thrown overboard “to save the trouble of burial and to escape quarantine regulations.”²⁵

The Mormon settlements along the Missouri River were visited by cholera in its most violent form during the years 1849 and 1850. They were ill-prepared to meet the scourge, having little medicine, few physicians, and wretched homes. A great many deaths occurred, hundreds being buried on the high bluff overlooking the Big Muddy. Realizing that something extraordinary must be done to meet the emergency, Elder Orson Hyde called a prayer meeting to plead Divine interposition. After three days of fasting and prayer, the Almighty is said to have interceded. At any rate the cholera gradually disappeared. A local historian observed that the Mormon leaders did not fail to point out the happy deliverance as “sure evidence” that the followers of Brigham Young were the “especial favorites” of the Lord.²⁶

Not all Iowa communities were as fortunate as the Latter Day Saints. Settlers in the populous Des Moines Valley were swept away by the fatal malady.

The most healthy and robust persons, while feeling no symptoms of disease, would suddenly be taken with vomiting and purging, and in a few hours large and fleshy persons would be reduced to mere skeletons, the skin become loose and shriveled like that of some very old persons; then cramping would set in, which convulsed the whole body with the most excruciating pains, till death relieved the sufferer. Persons not apprehending the danger, would frequently be attacked, and in a few hours breathe their last. When one of a family became sick, another and another would be attacked, till often whole families in a few hours would be taken away. Neighborhoods became alarmed and many left their homes, and frequently it was difficult to get any one to take care of the sick, or bury the dead.²⁷

The fearful ravages of this “dreadful pestilence” were felt in numerous Iowa communities. Burlington mourned the death of ex-Governor James

²⁵ Galena *Weekly Northwestern Gazette*, Sept. 7, Dec. 11, 1849; July 9, 16, 1850.

²⁶ D. C. Bloomer, “A Noted Prayer Meeting,” *Annals of Iowa* (third series), 4:68 (April, 1899).

²⁷ Charles Negus, “The River of the Mounds,” *Annals of Iowa* (first series), 12:273-4 (October, 1874).

Clarke and his family in 1850.²⁸ A Keosauqua editor, urging that every effort should be made to ward off the plague, demanded that "all putrid and offensive matter" should be removed from the corporate limits by the town authorities. "It is truly a wonderful and alarming malady," the editor declared. "Wherever it appears the wail of the dying is heard. The rich and the poor — the proud and the humble, alike bow down to its fearful sceptre. No one can consider himself entirely exempt from its blighting attack."²⁹

Such were the conditions facing the pioneer doctors when the first squatters entered the Black Hawk Purchase in 1833. A characteristic of these early doctors was their pioneering spirit. Although the permanent settlement of Iowa did not begin until June 1, 1833, a number of physicians were identified with the region prior to that date. Thus, in 1820, Dr. Samuel C. Muir resigned his commission as an army surgeon at Fort Edwards in order to live with his dusky Indian wife on the present site of Keokuk.³⁰ Again, on June 17, 1830, a group of lead miners drew up on the present site of Dubuque what is known as the Miners' Compact, the first set of laws for the government of the white man adopted on the soil of Iowa. This Miners' Compact occupies as important a position in early Iowa history as the Mayflower Compact does in the story of Massachusetts. One of the prospectors, Dr. Francis Jarret, was authorized to issue the papers of arbitration by which the miners agreed to bind themselves.³¹ In 1829, Dr. Isaac Galland crossed the Mississippi River and established the town of Nashville at the head of the Lower Rapids. By 1830 a typical pioneer community had sprung up. Dr. Galland invited a young Kentuckian named Berryman Jennings to teach a three months school at his new settlement. Jennings received lodging, fuel, furniture, and board at the Galland home as compensation, together with the privilege of studying Dr. Galland's medical books. Berryman Jennings taught the first school in Iowa; he was also the first medical student to receive training in Iowa.

²⁸ William Salter, "James Clarke, The Third Governor of the Territory of Iowa," *Iowa Historical Record*, 4:11 (January, 1888).

²⁹ Keosauqua *Western American*, July 19, 1851, quoted in *Annals of Iowa* (third series), 4:576 (January, 1901).

³⁰ "Dr. Samuel C. Muir," *Collections*, Wisconsin Historical Society, 10:491-2 (1883-1885); Dr. D. S. Fairchild, "History of Medicine in Iowa, 1820-1840," *Journal of the Iowa State Medical Society*, 8:321 (September, 1918).

³¹ William J. Petersen, "Some Beginnings in Iowa," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, 28:21 (January, 1930).

This occurred three years before the land was thrown open to permanent settlement and sixteen years before Iowa achieved statehood.³²

Another characteristic of the medical profession was the varied activities in which doctors engaged in order to make a living. Both Samuel Muir and Francis Jarret were interested in lead mining. Isaac Galland, on the other hand, was primarily interested in real estate promotion. Soon after the half-breeds were permitted to sell their lands in Lee County, Galland was appointed agent for a New York land company, the very same company Francis Scott Key represented in Iowa. In 1839 Galland became a convert to the Mormon faith and for a year was private secretary to Joseph Smith. When Dr. Galland died at Fort Madison in 1858, he was described as a "tolerably good physician, a tolerably good lawyer," and a man who was "deeply learned in ancient as well as modern history, and had few superiors in the West either as a speaker or writer."³³ Another physician, W. H. Blaydes of Kentucky, is said to have been a better pork packer than a doctor.³⁴

In addition to townsites and real estate ventures, many pioneer doctors were active in territorial and state politics. While practicing medicine in Burlington, Dr. James Davis ran for Delegate to Congress and served as the Iowa boundary commissioner in 1838.³⁵ Few pioneer doctors led a more varied existence than did William Ross of Burlington. Dr. Ross was the first merchant, the first surveyor, the first postmaster, the first benedict, and the first county clerk in Des Moines County. Few settlers were more widely known and few lived longer to tell of their exploits; in 1883 Dr. Ross and his bride of 1833 returned to Burlington from Oregon to help celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the town he had helped to establish.³⁶ As judges and as editors, as legislators and as educators, the pioneer physicians stand high in the development of the Hawkeye State.

³² *History of Lee County, Iowa . . .* (Chicago, 1879), 539, 548-9; Fairchild, "History of Medicine in Iowa . . .," 321-2.

³³ *History of Lee County, Iowa . . .*, 164-6, 548-9; William J. Petersen, "Doctors, Drugs and Dentists," *The Palimpsest*, 19:408 (October, 1938); William J. Petersen, "Some Beginnings in Iowa," 32; also, Introduction to reprint of *Galland's Iowa Emigrant*, published by State Historical Society of Iowa in 1950.

³⁴ J. P. Walton, *Pioneer Papers . . .* (Muscatine, 1899), 189.

³⁵ Erik McKinley Eriksson, "The Boundaries of Iowa," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, 25:174-6 (April, 1927).

³⁶ Augustine M. Antrobus, *History of Des Moines County, Iowa . . .* (2 vols., Chicago, 1915), 1:97; Harriet Connor Brown, "A Town Looks Back," *The Palimpsest*, 30:128-9 (April, 1949).

Many of these pioneer Esculapians chose to operate drugstores in conjunction with their medical practice. At Burlington Dr. J. L. Adreon, "late of Baltimore," invited ailing citizens to visit his drugstore on Water Street at the sign of the Golden Mortar where his large stock of personally selected drugs and medicines were for sale at the "most reasonable terms." All orders from the country were "neatly and accurately put up." In addition to drugs Dr. Adreon sold paints, oils, dye-stuffs, perfumery, confectionaries, tobacco, "Segars," snuff, and similar articles. He also offered citizens of Burlington and the vicinity his professional services in medicine and surgery.³⁷

The professional cards inserted in pioneer newspapers frequently reveal personal traits of the doctors as well as something about their early medical training. Dr. John Stoddard quoted his prices in the *Du Buque Visitor* in order to "prevent misunderstandings, and silence false reports." One dollar was charged for visits in town by day and double that amount for night calls. Simple "Medicine, Emetics and Cathartics" cost twenty-five cents; compound, one dollar.³⁸ At a meeting in Bloomington (now Muscatine) on February 5, 1841, the first efforts were made in the Hawkeye State to form a "Doctor's Trust." The following rates were agreed upon:³⁹

First visit in town in the daytime	\$1.00
Every succeeding visit	.50
Visit in the night time	1.50
Bleeding	1.00
Tooth Extracting	1.00
Attention on a patient all day or night by request	5.00

Some of the physicians who inserted their cards in the newspapers made it clear that they did not care to extend their practice outside the city limits of a town. In sharp contrast, Dr. Campbell Gilmer, who settled three miles northwest of Fort Madison in 1835, covered a wide range of territory. Generous to a fault, Dr. Gilmer answered "all calls, day or night, no matter what the state of the weather, and never made inquiry as to whether the patient was able to pay a fee." He died on his farm near

³⁷ Burlington *Wisconsin Territorial Gazette*, June 9, 1838.

³⁸ William J. Petersen, "The Times in Review," *The Palimpsest*, 17:105 (March, 1936); Franklin T. Oldt (ed.), *History of Dubuque County, Iowa* . . . (Chicago, n. d.), 421.

³⁹ Bertha M. H. Shambaugh, "Newspaper History," *The Palimpsest*, 1:43 (August, 1920).

Fort Madison on July 9, 1865.⁴⁰ Professional pride was exhibited in boastful advertisements and in actual practice. Thus, Dr. Egbert S. Barrows of Vermont came to Rockingham early in 1836, having been a surgeon during the Seminole Indian War. A rugged and resolute man, Dr. Barrows is said to have punished one patient who forsook him for another doctor, only to return uncured, by charging and actually collecting a fee of \$100 for a dose of Epsom Salts. He numbered Antoine Le Claire among his patients.⁴¹

What of the training of these pioneer doctors? Not all were graduates of such medical schools as there were at the time. Many had obtained their education by "reading" for a few months with some older physician and assisting him in his practice. When they felt they knew enough, the young doctors would then begin searching for openings, frequently choosing some new settlement on the frontier. Their stock of drugs and medicine was usually limited to a generous supply of calomel, some jalap, aloes, Dover's powder, castor oil, and Peruvian bark. In case of fever a patient was generally bled, every physician carrying lancets for this purpose. If a drastic cathartic followed by letting blood and perhaps a "fly blister" did not improve the patient, the doctor "would look wise and trust to a rugged constitution to pull the sick man through."⁴²

Some of these pioneer doctors had been educated at the best medical schools in America and one at least in Europe. Dr. Richard Plumbe, who was a graduate of the University of Leyden, Holland, confidently informed Dubuque residents that he had "long adopted the European plan of practice" in bilious fevers and intermittent fever or ague, and would undertake their cure "in a few hours, without the use of a single grain of Calomel." So confident was Dr. Plumbe of his ability to cure that he agreed to return his "very moderate" fee to the patient "if the treatment should prove unsuccessful."⁴³

Another Dubuque physician, Dr. Frederick Andros, graduated from the

⁴⁰ Nelson C. Roberts and S. W. Moorhead (eds.), *History of Lee County, Iowa* (2 vols. Chicago, 1914), 1:308-309.

⁴¹ Downer, *History of Davenport and Scott County . . .*, 1:508. Dr. Egbert was president of the Iowa State Medical Society in 1860. See *One Hundred Years of Iowa Medicine* (Iowa City, 1950), 116-17.

⁴² Roberts and Moorhead (eds.), *History of Lee County, Iowa*, 1:306.

⁴³ Dubuque *Iowa News*, Sept. 29, 1838; Oldt (ed), *History of Dubuque County, Iowa . . .*, 421.

Parsons Medical School of Brown University in 1826. Born in Berkeley, Massachusetts, in 1804, Dr. Andros gave up his five-year-old practice at Dubuque in 1838 and moved to Clayton County to engage in agriculture. He acted as the first clerk of the court in Clayton County. Dr. Andros resumed the practice of medicine in 1845, serving as surgeon at Fort Atkinson and also as physician to the Winnebago Indian Agency.⁴⁴

John Linton of Kentucky managed the Winnebago Mission for the Reverend David Lowry from 1837 to 1842. Returning to Kentucky, Linton studied medicine for two years at Springfield. After attending lectures at St. Louis in 1845, Dr. Linton established an office at Garnavillo where he became associated with Dr. Andros.⁴⁵

Dr. Joel C. Walker graduated from Jefferson Medical College at Philadelphia in 1836 and came to Fort Madison in December of that year.⁴⁶ Several doctors came from the medical schools in Cincinnati. Dr. John W. Finley, who came to Dubuque in 1836, was a native of North Carolina. He was a graduate of Jacksonville College and had read medicine in Missouri for two years before receiving his medical degree from the Cincinnati College of Medicine and Surgery in 1836. At Dubuque, where he practiced for forty-one years, Dr. Finley tendered his services in "all branches of Medicine, Surgery, and Midwifery." Dr. Finley was elected coroner in 1838. Thirty-six years later he helped found the Dubuque Medical Society.⁴⁷ Another Cincinnati-trained physician was Dr. Enos Lowe, perhaps the best known and most popular of Burlington's practitioners.⁴⁸

A substantial majority of the pioneer doctors in Iowa undoubtedly were trained in western medical schools. The first such school was established at Transylvania University, Lexington, Kentucky, in 1817. Two years later,

⁴⁴ Oldt (ed), *History of Dubuque County, Iowa . . .*, 421; Fairchild, "History of Medicine in Iowa . . .," 323.

⁴⁵ Realto E. Price (ed.), *History of Clayton County, Iowa . . .* (2 vols., Chicago, 1916), 1:222-3.

⁴⁶ Roberts and Moorhead (eds.), *History of Lee County, Iowa*, 1:309; Fort Madison Patriot, March 24, 1838.

⁴⁷ Dubuque *Iowa News*, Jan. 6, 1838; Oldt (ed.), *History of Dubuque County, Iowa . . .*, 421, 423; Dr. D. S. Fairchild, "Practice of Medicine in Iowa from 1840 to 1850," *Journal of the Iowa State Medical Society*, 9:118-19 (April, 1919).

⁴⁸ Fairchild, "History of Medicine in Iowa . . .," 325-6. Dr. Lowe was the second president of the Iowa State Medical Society. See *One Hundred Years of Iowa Medicine*, 111.

in 1819, Daniel Drake left Transylvania to found the Medical College of Ohio at Cincinnati. Another outcropping from Transylvania was the Louisville Medical Institute set up by Charles S. Caldwell and a group of seceders in 1837. Since Iowa was settled largely by pioneers from the Old Northwest Territory and the country immediately surrounding this area it is not surprising that a good number of the physicians should hail from such institutions.⁴⁹

The westward movement of medical institutions, together with their chameleonlike character, is illustrated by the history of the medical department of the State University of Iowa. The State University had been founded by law in 1847 but did not open its doors until 1855. The medical school did not begin active operation at Iowa City until 1870. Actually, however, this institution traces its history back to 1844, when Dr. George W. Richards and Dr. Daniel Meeker organized the Indiana Medical College at La Porte, Indiana. In 1847 this institution was removed to St. Charles, Illinois, and the following year it was set up at Rock Island, Illinois. The sessions of 1849 and 1850 were held in Davenport, Iowa, under the impressive title of College of Physicians and Surgeons of the Upper Mississippi.⁵⁰

The course of instruction in Iowa's first medical school stands in sharp contrast to the modern hospital and educational center. At Davenport in 1849 a sixteen-weeks course apparently was sufficient to prepare a student to go out and practice. After two sessions at Davenport this College of Physicians and Surgeons moved to Keokuk. In 1853 the "Medical Department of the Iowa University" at Keokuk consisted of a staff of seven men. Dr. J. C. Hughes was dean of the faculty and professor of surgery. Dr. L. M. McGugin taught physiology, pathology, and microscopy; Freeman Knowles was professor of the theory and practice of medicine; J. E. Sanborn lectured on chemistry and *Materia Medica*; E. R. Ford was professor of obstetrics and "Diseases of Women and Children"; Edward A. Arnold served as professor of anatomy, and P. Van Patten was "Demonstrator of Anatomy." Fees were as follows: \$10.00 to each professor; matriculation, \$5.00; diploma, \$30.00; privileges of the dissecting

⁴⁹ Dr. D. S. Fairchild, "Medical Education in Iowa," *Journal of the Iowa Medical Society*, 9:180 (June, 1919).

⁵⁰ *Addresses of Gov. Lowe, and Profs. McGugin and Hughes at the Dedication of the New College Halls . . .* (Keokuk, 1859), 22; Roberts and Moorhead (eds.), *History of Lee County, Iowa*, 1:311-12.

room and demonstrations, \$5.00. The course of instruction commenced on October 20 and continued sixteen weeks, closing on February 8, 1854, "after a most pleasant and prosperous lecture term." The following evening thirteen M.D. degrees were conferred in an "impressive manner" by Professor J. E. Sanborn. The editor of the *Iowa Medical Journal* took "some pride in sending forth into the State a band of Physicians, as well prepared for their responsible labors" as these thirteen graduates. This monthly publication was conducted by the faculty of the Medical Department and cost two dollars per year in advance. It was the first medical journal published in Iowa.⁵¹

If the courses of study in Iowa seem inadequate they were scarcely more so than those offered at St. Louis Medical College, the Medical Department of Pennsylvania, the Philadelphia College of Medicine, and the Starling Medical College of Columbus, Ohio, all of which advertised in the *Iowa Medical Journal* in 1855.⁵² Indeed there was little medical knowledge to be imparted.

Such was the training of the physicians and surgeons who appeared on the Upper Mississippi frontier prior to the Civil War. A few illustrations might suffice. Dr. Nathaniel L. Bunce graduated from Western Reserve Medical College at Cleveland in 1851 when he was but twenty-two years old. After a few years of "uneventful professional life" in Ohio, he moved to Marshalltown, Iowa, in 1857, where he became a veritable doctor on horseback, sometimes riding one hundred miles before returning to his home.⁵³ Dr. William C. Cummings, a native of Otsego County, New York, apparently felt the deficiency of medical education during this same period. After graduating from a medical college at Geneva, New York, Dr. Cummings practiced in Susquehanna and Boone counties in New York State. Dissatisfied with his training, he entered the Medical College at Albany, New York, and was graduated from that institution. He then moved to Iowa where he practiced in Eddyville and Oskaloosa before offering his services as a surgeon in the Civil War.⁵⁴

A careful scrutiny of the physicians practicing on the five American

⁵¹ *Iowa Medical Journal*, 1:255 (March, 1854).

⁵² *Ibid.*, Vol. 2 (June and July, 1855), advertising pages.

⁵³ William Battin and F. A. Moscrip, *Past and Present of Marshall County, Iowa* (2 vols., Indianapolis, 1912) 1:367-8.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 368-9.

frontier lines that transected Iowa between 1830 and 1870 would undoubtedly show some advance in medical experience, training, and skill. The frontier of 1870 was the last to touch Iowa. It included all or a portion of the four northwesternmost counties in the Hawkeye State. In 1880 the American frontier line as defined by the Census Bureau had been pushed over into the Dakotas and northeastern Nebraska. Although a considerable advance had taken place between 1830 and 1870, there was still much to be desired in the average pioneer doctor with a medical school education.

Such at least was the opinion of Dr. H. Neill who came to Sibley in Osceola County on October 16, 1875. Born of Scotch-Irish parents at Granby, in the Province of Quebec in 1844, Neill was "ground out" of the University of Michigan Medical School in 1871. "I hold no brief for the University of Michigan," Dr. Neill relates, "when I state that it was above the average of medical schools in its requirements at that date, for it required two sessions of six months each. It gave two courses of lectures and only one of these courses could be taken in one year. Thus, in order to graduate, a man had to pursue the study of medicine for two years, while in numerous medical schools, you could enter in October and be a full-fledged doctor the next June."

Although Michigan had two sessions, Dr. Neill points out that all but one professor used written lectures and gave the same lectures at both sessions. The graduating class of 1871 was composed largely of Union and Confederate soldiers, "all quite as ignorant" as Dr. Neill himself.

We had not seen an amputation, had not attended an obstetrical case, had examined no cases of disease, had seen no fracture, knew nothing of asepsis or antisepsis, but we were all well drilled on the *materia medica*. Now a medical education like the above was considered first class at that time, and so it is seen that a large share of the doctors who flocked to the frontier had no real medical education whatever. Some went West after a little study in a doctor's office; some with no study at all. One prominent practitioner was an end man in a minstrel show, another was a street car conductor. The minstrel man attained to such a practice that he actually died of overwork. While it was impossible for a man to be prepared for the work that was laid on his shoulders, still, it must be conceded, that, taken as a whole, we pioneer doctors were a "rotten lot."

This sordid picture was not lightened by Dr. Neill's first three years of practice in southern Minnesota. His outfit on starting out consisted of the following: "Flint's Practice, Smith's Diseases of Children, Meig's Obstetrics and Diseases of Women, Erichsen's Surgery, Dalton's Physiology and Gray's Anatomy." "I had a pocket case of instruments, a few tooth forceps, an amputating case, and a pair of saddlebags," Neill writes. "I did not at that time have a horse, and worst of all, did not have a fur coat." Dr. Neill recalls that he cursed the day of his birth almost daily during the first six months of his practice. "Some of my mistakes were tragic, some were funny, but all were intensely interesting to me at that period of my existence; some were doubtlessly interesting to my poor patients."

A typical horse and buggy doctor, Dr. Neill had \$212 upon his arrival in northwestern Iowa after three and one-half years in Minnesota. This represented his total savings. The following spring he found his resources exhausted after paying board at the rate of one dollar a day for himself and horse. During the year 1876 he made \$315, and his gross receipts for the years 1872-1912 were about \$74,500. It is worth while observing that Dr. Neill, realizing his limitations, had returned to New York City in 1878 and graduated from the Bellevue Medical College. Later he supplemented this work with a course at the New York Polyclinic.⁵⁵

The study of a small area like the Iowa frontier presents in miniature the story of medical development within the nation as a whole. And the exploitation of state and regional historical resources will make possible the ultimate presentation of a composite view of American medical history. From old newspaper files, from gazetteers and books of travel, from city directories and county histories, from the reminiscences of doctors and the pioneers themselves, and from state and local medical journals must come the story of pioneer medicine in any state.

⁵⁵ J. L. E. Peck, O. H. Montzheimer, and William J. Miller, *Past and Present of O'Brien and Osceola Counties, Iowa* (2 vols., Indianapolis, 1914), 1:636-8.

“BOOK FARMING” IN IOWA 1840-1870

By *Mildred Throne*

“‘Book farming! away with your book farming,’ says an individual solicited to subscribe for an agricultural journal, ‘I want no books to teach me how to raise wheat, corn, and potatoes; I can raise as good crops as any of my neighbors, who seem to be filled with agricultural books and papers, and still gaping for more.’” Such was the attitude of the majority of Middle Western farmers toward the “better farming movement” of the mid-nineteenth century. To them the editors of agricultural journals were men “with silk gloves on,” men “too lazy to work for a living,” and they would have nothing to do with them or their ideas.¹ Since the time of Jefferson and Washington, farmers aware of the importance and necessity of soil preservation, crop rotation, and fertilization had preached and practiced scientific husbandry, to the best of their knowledge. Learned agricultural societies of the late eighteenth century had spread this knowledge to a select few, but the methods of the average American farmer remained little different from those of the European peasant of the Middle Ages.

Conquering the prejudice of conservative, “old foggy” farmers was a long, uphill task. Early in the nineteenth century a new impetus was given improved agriculture by “a gentleman farmer” of Pittsfield, Massachusetts, Elkanah Watson, who, in 1807, exhibited two Merino sheep in the public square. This show of livestock, so modestly begun, became an annual event out of which grew the Berkshire Agricultural Society. This society, organized in 1810, was different from the earlier types, which had sought to improve agriculture by scientific reasoning. It gave the farmer something he could understand: a view of the actual results of better methods; a view which aroused a desire for emulation and competition.² A beginning had

¹ *Northwestern Farmer*, 1:190 (July, 1856); 2:374 (October, 1857); *Bloomfield Democratic Clarion*, Dec. 7, 1859.

² Wayne Caldwell Neely, *The Agricultural Fair* (New York, 1935), 43-6, 49-50, 64; Percy Wells Bidwell and John I. Falconer, *History of Agriculture in the Northern United States, 1620-1860* (Washington, 1925), 187.

been made in the fight against prejudice and ignorance; "book farming" would come later.

By the mid-nineteenth century other forces joined with agricultural societies to further the cause of better farming. Agricultural journalism had its beginning in Baltimore in 1819 with the publication by John Stuart Skinner of *The American Farmer*. Edmund Ruffin in 1851 gave credit to farm journals for whatever progress American agriculture had made to that date.³ The weekly newspapers of the Middle Western market towns were also active in furthering "book farming," and farmers' clubs added their demands for better farming. What were the methods against which these forces battled, and what were the remedies suggested?

In Iowa, after the first decade or two of "pioneering," a general type of farming can be observed. The average farm was a combination of prairie and small patches of woodland. The farmer planted corn, wheat, oats, and a few other small grains. He raised pigs, a few cattle of doubtful lineage, and possibly some sheep; his work-cattle consisted of a yoke or two of slow-footed oxen or several nondescript horses. His farm buildings left much to be desired. By the 1860's he may have planted a small orchard, and he had a number of the latest agricultural implements — steel plows, reapers, mowers, corn shellers, and, in some cases, a few planting tools. In fact, his machinery was well in advance of his methods which were usually those of his father and grandfather. His farm, in spite of careless cultivation, produced a large surplus which he sold at the nearest town.

Grain alone could not support the Iowa farmer and his family, however. His only means of converting that grain into a product which could be taken to market easily and which would yield a good profit was to feed it to his livestock. Corn sold for 75 cents on the Atlantic seaboard in 1853, but at Burlington it brought only 18 to 20 cents.⁴ The cost of shipping grain to the Atlantic was prohibitive, but cheap Iowa corn could be fed to hogs and cattle which could be driven to market and sold at a profit. As early as 1847, J. A. Pinto, secretary of the Danville Township Farmers' Club, urged the club members to pay more attention to the production of cattle and hogs, as the "most lucrative business" in which a farmer could engage.⁵

³ Albert Lowther Demaree, *The American Agricultural Press, 1819-1860* (New York, 1941), 39-86 *passim*.

⁴ *Iowa Farmer and Horticulturist*, 1:32 (June, 1853); 1:34 (July, 1853).

⁵ *Iowa Farmers' Advocate*, 1:85 (December, 1847).

The increasing production of corn, plus the presence of plenty of hungry livestock, made such a system inevitable.

Almost from the first opening of the territory, hogs were important to the Iowa farmer. Between 1840 and 1870 the number of swine on Iowa farms increased from just over 100,000 to almost 2,500,000.⁶ Increase in quality was not as noticeable as in quantity, however. Some few farmers raised Poland China, Suffolk, Berkshire, and other breeds, with the Poland China the most popular.⁷ But when any hog taken to market would sell at around five cents a pound, the incentive was not to breed better animals but rather to make them heavier by feeding them plenty of corn. When packers later began to distinguish between types of hogs, and to pay better prices for better stock, improvements in breeds resulted.

A few farmers, as early as the 1840's were importing blooded cattle, particularly Durhams, or Shorthorns as they were sometimes called. A "Shorthorn Herd Book" was published in 1858, as part of the *Report* of the State Agricultural Society. Only 97 thoroughbred cattle were listed, the majority owned by Timothy Day of Van Buren County, by the Ohio Stock Farm in Butler County, and by H. G. Stuart of Lee County. A year later the "Herd Book" listed 171 Shorthorns and 43 Devons, the latter owned by James Weed of Muscatine County, C. D. Bent and Franklin Kimball of Johnson County, and a few scattered breeders in Poweshiek, Jones, and Jackson counties.⁸ These figures, compared to the 540,088 cattle of all kinds on Iowa farms in 1860, indicate that thoroughbred cattle were still very much in the minority.⁹ This was inevitable, since cattle were pastured in common on the unfenced prairies. There was thus little or no selection in breeding, even had there been a desire to keep the better strains pure. Only the well-to-do farmers, who could afford to fence their herds, were able to import and develop fine cattle.

Methods of cultivating the grain to feed this stock were changing slowly, largely because of the introduction of new farm machines rather than because of better tillage. The first farmers had hacked the corn into the unbroken prairie sod, or, if available, a huge breaking plow had been used

⁶ 1836-1880 *Iowa Census*, 360. The actual figures are: 104,899 in 1840; 2,409,679 in 1869.

⁷ *Iowa Agricultural Report*, 1857, 227-8; *Report of the Commissioner of Patents*, 1850, 356.

⁸ *Ia. Ag. Rept.*, 1858, 443-68; 1859, 424-61, 462-8.

⁹ 1836-1880 *Iowa Census*, 350.

to turn the tough sod while the farmer or his sons followed, dropping the seed corn by hand, or sowing wheat and oats broadcast. Once the sod was broken and a crop raised, further plowing was done with cast-iron sheathed plows, until John Deere "made his first steel plow from a saw blade." The cast-iron plow in common use when the first settlers moved into Iowa did not scour well in the rich prairie soil. Thus, the steel plow was a great boon to Iowa farmers. By 1850 Deere was producing 1,600 plows a year; by 1852 his enlarged plant turned out 10,000 annually.¹⁰

Threshers, mowers, and the McCormick or Manny reapers made their appearance on Iowa farms in the fifties. Corn planters and wheat drills, on the other hand, were not so widely used; the Middle Western farmer did not at once appreciate the value of planting tools, where the immediate results were not so evident as with the steel plow, the thresher, and the reaper.¹¹ The Pennock wheat drill, for instance, first patented in 1841, gained popularity slowly.¹² In 1858, Renschel and O'Daniels were agents for the drill in Mount Pleasant; in an effort to increase its use, they offered to take as their pay "the increase over the common method of sowing, off of forty acres."¹³ Where used, the drill was found satisfactory, but its acceptance by farmers was slow. One reason for this was that the drill needed a well-pulverized soil for proper operation; this plus the fact that broadcast seeding was easier, cheaper, and just as satisfactory in the rich prairie soils of Iowa and the Midwest made the drill more of a luxury than a necessity in wheat raising.¹⁴ Corn planters, both the hand-operated and the horse-drawn riding type, had been introduced by the 1860's, and some few farmers were using them. According to the publicity released in 1867, fifteen hundred of the walking type had been sold in Iowa that year, and 416 of the riding type. Since there were 116,292 farms in Iowa in 1870, it is obvious that the number of farmers using corn planters was proportionately very small.¹⁵

Shelter, both for livestock and for farm machines, was extremely primi-

¹⁰ Bidwell and Falconer, *Agriculture in the Northern United States* . . . , 283; Leo Rogin, *The Introduction of Farm Machinery* . . . (Berkeley, Calif., 1931), 33.

¹¹ *Ia. Ag. Rept.*, 1857, 213, 225, 229, 236, 243, 267, 438.

¹² Rogin, *Introduction of Farm Machinery* . . . , 192-3.

¹³ *Ia. Ag. Rept.*, 1858, 257.

¹⁴ Fred A. Shannon, *The Farmer's Last Frontier: Agriculture, 1860-1897* (New York, 1945), 131.

¹⁵ *Ia. Ag. Rept.*, 1867, 222, 226; 1836-1880 *Iowa Census*, 244.

tive for several decades on the Iowa frontier. In 1856 the cost of the "necessary sheds for cattle and horses" for a small farm of eighty to one hundred acres was estimated at about \$100.¹⁶ "J. A. D." of Des Moines County, in 1858, asked a farm journal editor for advice on the problem. "We here have straw stables, rail corn cribs and muddy hog pens. Who can describe the best arrangement for avoiding these inconveniences, without an expense that will frighten us in these times?"¹⁷ Although the eastern counties had, by 1858, been settled for almost two decades, the national business depression of this period made it difficult for many farmers to make the needed improvements which, in the normal course of events, they should have been making by that time. There were exceptions, of course. Davis County reported in 1858 that, "notwithstanding the stringency of the money market," the farmers of that region had, in the past year, built one hundred new houses and over thirty barns, in addition to other improvements.¹⁸ But the severe winter of 1858-1859 caused a large loss of cattle, and agitation for better shelters became widespread.¹⁹ As with other features of Iowa agriculture, improvement was talked and planned, and in some cases carried out, but as a general rule it was more an ideal than a reality. Most cattle found shelter in the woods or in the lee of a strawstack, and most machinery was left out in wind and weather, to rust and become useless within a few years.

Railroads were being built across Iowa in the late fifties and early sixties; many farmers looked to them for expanded markets which, they hoped, would result in better farming methods, as Iowa farmers began to compete with eastern agriculturists. Although some improvement may have resulted from the demands of the new and fast railroad transportation, progressive farmers still found grounds for criticism. The "pioneer" was the worst offender, in the eyes of progressive farmers. L. D. Morse of Wapello County believed that agricultural methods in the country would improve when the pioneers, "who flee from rats and Railroads," had moved on.²⁰ The farmers of Wapello County were using the same methods which had

¹⁶ Nathan H. Parker, *Iowa Handbook for 1856* . . . (Boston, 1856), 160.

¹⁷ *Emery's Journal of Agriculture*, 2:23 (July 1, 1858).

¹⁸ *Ia. Ag. Rept.*, 1858, 238.

¹⁹ *Albia Republican*, May 18, 1859; *Washington Press*, May 11, 1859; *Bloomfield Democratic Clarion*, April 20, 1859.

²⁰ *Ia. Ag. Rept.*, 1858, 418.

worn out the soil of their eastern farms: neither manuring nor a "systematic rotation of crops" was practiced. In fact, with some farmers "from four to eight successive crops of corn from the same ground, without any manuring," was common.²¹ M. L. Comstock of Des Moines County found that farmers had fallen into "two errors of vital importance. . . . The first, is that prairie soil does not need draining; the second, that it cannot be impoverished." Heaps of manure were often left by the bed of a stream, where they sent their "enriching salts dancing away in their merry course toward the Gulf of Mexico."²² The farmers of Lucas County, according to Dr. Isaac Kneeland, used careless and wasteful methods. Cattle and hogs were not sheltered; wheat was often sown on last year's cornfield without plowing. When the farmer did plow his fields, he turned over too shallow a furrow. Almost all farmers were in debt for more land than they needed, and did not "properly cultivate what they have fenced."²³ Similar stories were told in other localities. With so much land almost for the taking, it was hard to convince the farmer that he should limit his acreage, that he should preserve the fertility of his soil, or that he should provide shelter for his stock.

Such were the conditions of Iowa agriculture in the decades before 1870. The Iowa soil, after only some thirty years of cropping, was already beginning to show signs of exhaustion in some areas, or at least of decreasing fertility, in spite of the agitation of "book farmers." But certain areas reported improvement due to the constant work of agricultural societies, farm journals, newspapers, and farmers' clubs.

Agricultural societies and yearly fairs were important factors in spreading the gospel of better farming in Iowa. The leading spirits of these organizations and exhibitions were not always primarily farmers. Editors, doctors, lawyers, and businessmen, together with a few well-to-do and educated farmers, were the officers, and on them fell the work of organization and management. There were exceptions, of course, but as a rule the townspeople directed the societies and fairs, and the farmers enjoyed them. This role of the businessman of the small towns of the Middle West in sponsoring and furthering improvements in the business of farming is a factor which should not be overlooked in studies in agricultural history. Editors of local papers devoted much space to farm news and to propaganda for

²¹ *Ibid.*, 1857, 439.

²² *Ibid.*, 244.

²³ *Ibid.*, 1859, 318.

"book farming"; agricultural journals were edited by townsmen; and in Iowa the leaders in the campaign for an agricultural college came primarily from the urban centers.

Christian W. Slagle, a lawyer of Jefferson County, was active in founding the State Agricultural Society in Iowa; Joshua M. Shaffer, a physician of Keokuk, was for many years the secretary of the State Society; the first president was Thomas W. Clagett, lawyer, judge, and editor of Keokuk. Two other presidents were Peter Melendy, fine stock breeder and politician, and George G. Wright, lawyer, Chief Justice of the Iowa Supreme Court, and United States Senator. Josiah B. Grinnell, preacher and politician, was long active in the affairs of the Society, while Benjamin F. Gue, politician and editor, was one of the sponsors of the bill to found a State Agricultural College. William Duane Wilson, editor of the *Iowa Homestead*, was a leader in the Agricultural Society and in the movement for the State College and Farm; Dudley W. Adams, horticulturist and prominent Granger of the 1870's, was from the first prominent in agricultural societies, both county and state. James W. Grimes, lawyer and United States Senator, was always interested in agriculture and was, for a time, horticultural editor of the *Iowa Farmer and Horticulturist*. Mark Miller, editor of the *Northwestern Farmer* and the *Iowa Homestead*, was long active in the campaign to improve farming methods. Leading farmers in the agricultural societies were Timothy Day of Van Buren County, pioneer breeder of Shorthorn cattle in the state; James Weed of Muscatine, a breeder of Devon cattle; Suel Foster, horticulturist of Muscatine; and H. G. Stuart, stock breeder of Lee County.

Men such as these, in the state at large and in the counties, sponsored societies and fairs, edited farm journals, and constantly urged the betterment of Iowa farming methods. It is to them, together with Coker F. Clarkson and Henry Wallace in the later decades, that much of the credit is due for what little "book farming" was practiced in the years before the State Agricultural College at Ames took over the leadership in scientific farming and agricultural education.²⁴

²⁴ For biographies and sketches of these men, see Benjamin F. Gue, *History of Iowa* . . . (4 vols., New York, 1903), 4:48, 111-12, 186-7, 239-40, 245, 496-7; William Salter, *The Life of James W. Grimes* . . . (New York, 1876); Luella M. Wright, *Peter Melendy* . . . (Iowa City, 1945); Charles E. Payne, *Josiah Bushnell Grinnell* (Iowa City, 1938); *Portrait and Biographical Album of Muscatine County, Iowa* . . . (Chicago, 1889), 210-12; David C. Mott, "William Duane Wilson," *Annals of Iowa* (third series), 20:361-73 (July, 1936); *Dictionary of American Biography*, 1:56.

The first efforts to form agricultural societies in Iowa during the forties had been abortive; no real progress was made until the fifties. The *Prairie Farmer*, which began publication in Chicago in 1841, at once urged that the farmers of the new territory make plans for agricultural fairs.²⁵ Some local exhibits were actually held as early as 1841; and the territorial legislature passed acts to encourage agricultural societies in 1838, 1842, and 1843.²⁶ Louisa and Van Buren counties later claimed the distinction of having held the first agricultural fair in the state: Van Buren in 1842, and Louisa in 1850.²⁷

Whatever the origin or location of the "first" fair, the more settled counties of Iowa, under the stimulus of state funds, were developing local societies and holding exhibits by the early fifties. A law passed by the General Assembly in 1853 had provided that each county should receive a sum equal to the amount it could raise, the sum not to exceed two hundred dollars, and the *Iowa Farmer* expressed the hope that this law would speed the formation of county societies.²⁸ Whether because of the encouragement of the legislature, or the natural result of the development of the region, or the activity of certain leaders, by the middle fifties most of the organized counties in Iowa had formed societies and were holding yearly fairs.

The farmers came out of curiosity, at first. Almost all the counties report a small first fair, but growing interest and attendance.²⁹ The usual procedure was to hold an exhibit of cattle, grain, and fruit at the county seat, possibly in the courthouse yard, where modest premiums of a few dollars or subscriptions to some farm journal were given. Either the society then raised money and bought land, or some public-spirited member would offer a tract of five or ten acres as a site for subsequent fairs. This plot was fenced and sheds built; very soon, with the increasing interest in horse racing, a

²⁵ *Prairie Farmer*, 1:88 (November, 1841); 1:93 (December, 1841); 2:13 (February, 1842).

²⁶ Earle D. Ross, "The Evolution of the Agricultural Fair in the Northwest," *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, 24:448 (July, 1926); *Laws of Iowa Territory, 1841*, Chap. 126; *Revised Statutes of the Territory of Iowa, 1842-'43*, Chap. 6; Myrtle Beinhauer, "The County, District, and State Agricultural Societies of Iowa," *Annals of Iowa* (third series) 20:50-51 (July, 1935).

²⁷ *Iowa Farmer and Horticulturist*, 1:40 (July, 1852); *Ia. Ag. Rept.*, 1857, 410-14; 1858, 364-6.

²⁸ *Laws of Iowa, 1852-54*, Chap. 45; Beinhauer, "The County, District, and State Agricultural Societies of Iowa," 53; *Iowa Farmer and Horticulturist*, 1:4 (May, 1852).

²⁹ *Ia. Ag. Rept.*, 1857, 231, 249-51, 333-4; 1858, 197-8, 324, 381.

track was laid out and a grandstand erected. On the two or three days that the fair was held, provided there was no rain, people would come from all over the county, some few to show their stock and produce, others merely to see what their neighbors were doing.³⁰

By the late fifties many counties reported increasing interest in better farming as a result of the fairs. In spite of the constant complaint that, in general, farming methods were very poor, the fairs were breaking down conservatism and opposition to change. A farmer who saw better corn raised by careful selection of seed was encouraged to try his hand at the same process. If he saw fine Durham cattle or Poland China hogs, and the attention and interest they aroused, it was only natural that he would want to own better stock himself. Lee County reported in 1857 that "nine-tenths of the shorthorns introduced into the county, since 1852, were induced by the interest created by our exhibitions."³¹ The same result applied to horses and hogs, to crops, and to tillage. Wherever a county society became firmly established, and fairs were held regularly, good results were reported. Mahaska County had "great improvements . . . in nearly every department of agricultural operations"; Keokuk County farmers were learning how to improve their methods; farmers in Mills County "flocked in from all directions" to the fairs; Monroe, Henry, and Davis also made reports of good progress.³² The secretary of the State Agricultural Society observed in an optimistic vein in 1857: "That the method of cultivation has undergone a very great improvement in the last few years. . . ."³³

A study of the reports of county secretaries for this same year, however, does not bear out his optimism. The recurring complaints were that the farmers cultivated too much land and that they cultivated that poorly, "stirring only a few inches of the top of the soil. . . ." Jasper County reported "a slovenly system of farming," while most of the newer counties in central and western Iowa told the same story. So much rich and fertile land was available that the farmer's chief interest was to cultivate as much as possible, rather than as well as possible.³⁴

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 1857, 335, 371, 426-8, 441-2, 444; 1858, 306-307, 324.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 1857, 337.

³² *Ibid.*, 230, 256, 354, 372; 1858, 295, 324; *Sigourney Iowa Weekly Democrat*, Apr. 15, 1859.

³³ *Ia. Ag. Rept.*, 1857, 1.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 215, 237-8, 272, 283-4, 288, 369, 402-403.

Iowa's agricultural methods were no better and possibly no worse than the general over-all picture of Midwestern agriculture at that time. The worst features can be attributed to the exigencies of opening a new country. The secretary of the Adams County society reported in 1858: "The county being new, our farmers have necessarily devoted all their energies to increasing the number of acres cultivated, rather than to scientific agriculture."³⁵ There is no doubt that the local societies were to have a most beneficial effect upon agricultural practices, however.

A factor often ignored or not understood was that, in 1860, intensive agriculture as preached by the more progressive eastern farmers would not have been profitable or practicable in Iowa or in the other new sections of the Middle West. With cheap land, expensive labor, and low prices for grain and livestock, intensive agriculture, draining, and manuring were luxuries which the Iowa farmer could not afford. That the result was a rapid depletion of the soil does not alter the fact that in the mid-nineteenth century better farming was not economical. In the 1860 federal census of agriculture this problem was discussed at length: "High farming involves high prices. The system of cultivation and manuring which is profitable in Great Britain would not be remunerative in the State of New York, because labor is higher and produce lower, and the system which is profitable in New York might not be advantageous in Iowa." The improvement of farming methods is "simply a question of profit and loss. . . . We shall farm better as soon as such improvement is perceived to be profitable and necessary."³⁶

Nevertheless, active county groups in Iowa continued to agitate for improvement of farming in spite of the logic of dollars and cents, and the movement grew for a state society. The county fairgrounds at Fairfield were offered as the site for the first State Fair, which was held in 1854. It was estimated that 7,000 to 10,000 people attended, coming from all the settled parts of the state, many camping on the way. A second fair was also held at Fairfield in 1855, attended by some 13,000 to 14,000 farmers.³⁷ Awards were made in thirty-two classes, ranging from Durham and Devon

³⁵ *Ia. Ag. Rept.*, 1858, 196.

³⁶ *Eighth United States Census, 1860: Agriculture*, vii, ix.

³⁷ *Iowa Farmer and Horticulturist*, 1:22 (June, 1853); *Ia. Ag. Rept.*, 1855, 3-4; 1874, 486; Ross, "Evolution of the Agricultural Fair in the Northwest," 24, 50; Neely, *Agricultural Fair*, 96.

cattle, "Thorough Bred Horses," sheep, swine, farm machinery, grains, and fruits to breads and preserves, "sculptural marble," needlework, paintings, flowers, and "miscellaneous." Most of the premiums in the cattle shows were taken by Timothy Day of Van Buren County, others going to "a son and cousin of 'old Tim' also of the name of Day." The show of hogs was "meager, considering the amount of capital invested in Swine"; only ten grain entries were made because the fair was held too early for full crop maturity; only nine entries were made in the class of "Farm Machinery," whereas there "should have been a hundred."³⁸ All in all, however, these two fairs were a good beginning for a society which was to play a large part in the improvement of Iowa farming.

One of the regular features of the early fairs was an address by the president of the society or by some prominent farmer. At Fairfield in 1855, D. P. Holloway gave a typical address, filled with praise and advice to farmers, and leavened with a proper number of jokes. After noting the progress made in farming and stock breeding, he touched on a wide variety of subjects, urged government aid to agriculture, better farm representation in Washington, and tariff protection for farm products. Speaking of a problem already beginning to disturb agriculturists — the migration of the young men to the cities — he reminded them that "God made the country, and man made the town." On the subject of better husbandry, he told the story of the preacher who went through the neighborhood, praying at the fields of his parishioners, but at one field of an indolent and careless farmer he refused to offer up a prayer. "Ah, my friend," said he, "there is no use of praying here — *this field needs manure.*"³⁹

Plowing matches were popular features of the early fairs, and aroused considerable interest. Plots of one-quarter acre were laid out for each contestant, and his work was timed. At the 1857 fair the average time was 55 minutes per acre — the shortest time being 48 minutes, and the longest 61 minutes. Here again the spirit of the times is manifest: the emphasis was on fast rather than on thorough cultivation. Few machines were shown at the earliest fairs, largely because of the difficulty, before the introduction of railroads, of transporting heavy equipment.⁴⁰

Premiums at the fairs ranged from \$1.00 to \$15.00, and, as at the

³⁸ *Ia. Ag. Rept.*, 1855, 14, 19, 28, and 7-31 *passim*, Keokuk Gate City, Oct. 13, 1855.

³⁹ *Ia. Ag. Rept.*, 1855, 35-43 *passim*. Quoted material on p.42.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 1857, 26-7; 1859, 63.

county fairs, subscriptions to some farm journal were also given. These journals, several of which were published in Iowa, are another phase of the campaign to improve farming methods. According to a student of the agricultural press in America, the progress of agriculture in the years before 1860 was due "in part to the educational impetus of the farm press together with other agencies such as agricultural societies, clubs, and fairs."⁴¹ The policies of the editors were manifold, not the least of which was the breaking down of old superstitions and prejudices against "book farming." They supported all progressive movements and all new inventions, they encouraged experimentation, and they reported at length all new methods of cultivation and of livestock breeding.⁴²

The *Prairie Farmer*, which began publication in Chicago in 1841, was well patronized by the more progressive Iowa farmers. In 1842 the editor announced, under the heading "IOWA FOREVER!" receipt of the first Iowa subscription, from S. S. Carpenter of Keosauqua.⁴³ Thereafter agents in all the counties were rapidly appointed to secure subscriptions. Iowa farm journalism soon made its appearance. *The Iowa Farmer's Advocate* was published in Burlington for about a year, between 1847 and 1848, and was then merged with the *Valley Farmer* of St. Louis. *The Iowa Farmer and Horticulturist*, published at Burlington in 1853, the *Northwestern Farmer and Horticultural Journal*, at Dubuque in 1856, and the *North-Western Review*, at Keokuk in 1857 are some of the other Iowa farm journals of the early period. The *Iowa Farmer* and *Northwestern Farmer* were combined in 1860, and in 1862, at Des Moines, Mark Miller, editor of the *Northwestern Farmer*, started publication of the most important of the early Iowa farm journals, *The Iowa Homestead*.⁴⁴

The goal of the farm journal editors was the same as that of the leaders of the agricultural societies — better farming. Their articles discussed new ways of plowing and cultivating, various breeds of livestock, types of seed to use, care of orchards and vineyards, the advantages of the various kinds of grasses, and the necessity for fertilizing the fields. The

⁴¹ Demaree, *American Agricultural Press* . . . , 231.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 39–86.

⁴³ *Prairie Farmer*, 2:96 (November, 1842).

⁴⁴ *Iowa Farmers' Advocate*, 1:189 (December, 1848); letter of Hosea B. Horn, *Annals of Iowa* (first series), 2:91 (April, 1863); *Northwestern Farmer*, 5:66 (February, 1860); C. R. F. Smith, "The Iowa Homestead," *The Palimpsest*, 11:230 (June, 1930).

Northwestern Farmer carried an article each month on the work the farmer should be doing at that season. All journals had special departments for the farmer's wife, complete with recipes, sewing instructions, and short stories. The advertising columns were filled with news of the latest farm machinery, advertisements for seeds, for the local nurseries, and — from the more settled areas — of farmlands for sale. The editors warred constantly against the conservatism of the average farmer; they printed editorials or letters from farmers on this theme. A correspondent from Wisconsin wrote to the *Northwestern Farmer* in 1856:

Book farming is a subject which is often named by a certain class of agriculturists in connection with an off-hand slang, hurled as it were, at all who seem to be interested in agricultural progression, and improvement. Even to this day we see many that are clinging tenaciously to the "ways their father had" without even a thought as to there being a possibility of improvement upon the old method to which they seem fairly fastened.⁴⁵

In 1857 "E. B. C." of Linn County added his comments to the subject:

There is, perhaps, no class of people more tenacious in their ideas in regard to the improvements of the day, than the farmer. The old way of ploughing and reaping suits him so well, that he thinks it the only right way of farming. Talk to him of acquainting himself with the elements of his soil, that he may know what crops it is best calculated to produce, and he will tell you, it is all moonshine, or something equally absurd; and thus content himself that, "whatever is, is right," and thus continue to plod along in the old way, envious perhaps of his neighbor that raises more from fifty acres, than he does from double the amount of land, simply, by having the views and experience of others, combined with a systematic course of labor.⁴⁶

Newspaper editors were also advocates of better farming. They filled their farm columns with glowing tributes to the Iowa soil, with suggestions for improving husbandry, and with reprints of agricultural articles from eastern papers and journals. Since their readers were mostly farmers, editors made constant efforts to appeal to this class, and in the early days accepted produce in payment for subscriptions. Newspapers carried agricultural columns, or "Farmers' Corners," and the editors constantly urged the

⁴⁵ *Northwestern Farmer*, 1:190 (July, 1856).

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 2:374 (October, 1857).

farmers to write "for their papers."⁴⁷ Some few responded to this request, and now and then a lively exchange would appear.

In 1859 "K" wrote to the Bloomfield *Democratic Clarion*, urging farmers to read more agricultural papers and to hold meetings for discussion of the best ways of farming. The editor added a paragraph endorsing these suggestions and asked for more comments from farmers. The result was a letter bristling with anti-book-farming sentiments. The editor took the blast quite seriously and assured his readers that he printed the letter because his columns were "open to all," and not because he agreed with this "radical and ultra old foggy farmer." The "radical" commented on the suggestions of "K" that farmers read agricultural journals:

Now this all looks well enough on paper, but what will one gain by reading the Northwestern Farmer or any other agricultural paper got up by men with silk gloves on, who don't know a potato from a saw log unless it is cooked. The first thing you will find like enough in one of these papers, is a pair of Bantam (or some such name,) chickens, about the size of a sore finger, and fit for nothing but to look at. As for my part I would not give a copper for a chicken that cannot scratch for a living, and roost on the fence all winter without freezing their toes off.

Then, perhaps, the next thing you will see is a pair of great fat lazy hogs — called Suffolk or Chester White, or some other big name, that Mr. Kimball, at Iowa City, has for sale at \$10 a pair — with a long chapter on their history and habits and remarks on hogs generally, though they always call them *porkers*. Now, what use have we in this country for Suffolk hogs, or any other hog that can't root?— I tell you these Suffolks wont do — turn them into the woods, or out in a dog fennel lane to get a living, and they will lay in a fence corner until they starve to death. What we want here is a hog with a nose to him so that ho [sic] can root; legs so that he can climb a hazel bush, and hair on him to keep him from freezing; such a hog as this you can turn out at four months old to take care of himself, and if he is of any account, will live without a shelter, and outrun the dogs, and average 200 pounds at 18 months old, with very little trouble — in short, Sir, we want an *active* thorough-going hog that can take care of himself.

⁴⁷ Burlington *Iowa Patriot*, June 20, 1859; Burlington *Hawk-Eye*, Oct. 30, 1845; Sigourney *Keokuk County News*, Oct. 20, 1860; Burlington *Wisconsin Territorial Gazette*, June 2, 1838; Mount Pleasant *Home Journal*, March 17, 1859; Bloomfield *Democratic Clarion*, Nov. 30, 1859.

Then there are pictures of the "Cotwold" sheep, that will shear 16 pounds of wool and turn out 200 pounds of mutton — that you can cook with two sticks of wood, and all that kind of thing, but they have got to be sheltered in houses and taken care of like babies, or they will die off; so they are not fit for much but to make pictures of after all.

Then you will find long chapters on posies and verbenas, and Sunflowers, and all kinds of flumydiddles for flower pots for women and children to play with, but for no earthly use except mere show, and after you get through with all these you will find long chapters on building barns and cow stables, and hog houses, and all such stuff. Just as though we didn't know that a thousand dollars invested in a barn could be put out at 25 per cent. interest, and that people could stack their hay or small grain out of doors, or that a rail fence or jack oak thicket was a good enough shelter for cattle and hogs, besides, who wants to be at the trouble of cleaning out cow stables, and having great piles of manure in his way. Now this is the kind of thing a fellow will learn from these books on farming, and farmers are gone crazy with new fangled notions, and before long everybody will have to build fine barns and nice fences, and raise posies and sunflowers, and all such trash, or leave the country. As for my part, I'll show 'em that they can't train in an

OLD SEED CORNER ⁴⁸

The letter was answered in a later issue of the paper, but the reply was more an attack on the possible unsavory reputation of "Old Seed Corner" than a refutation of his opinions on farming.⁴⁹ With that, the debate died down. It serves, however, to point up in perhaps a too highly colored light the opinion of many farmers on scientific farming. It was this attitude against which the agricultural societies, the farm journals, and the newspapers fought and were to fight for many years to come.

A fourth movement for better farming — perhaps the most effective because it reached more farmers — was the agitation for the formation of local farmers' clubs. Fairs brought agriculturists together only once or twice a year; a farmers' club brought intimate discussion of farm problems and questions almost to the farmer's dooryard. These local clubs, more or less long-lived, were formed in various places throughout the state. As early as 1847 such a club was reported in Des Moines County; "Another

⁴⁸ Bloomfield *Democratic Clarion*, Dec. 7, 1859.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, Dec. 21, 1859.

Farmer's Club" was announced in 1848. A "Farmer's Festival" was held at Washington in 1857, "to inaugurate the manufacture of sugar and molasses," where premiums were also offered for the best crops, and for breads, butter, and pies.⁵⁰ The meetings of these clubs were usually held at the township schoolhouses during the winter, the farmer's slack season, and many attended who did not go to the fairs or read the agricultural papers. The discussions often encouraged the farmer to read some of these papers, and many a farmer began "to realize that there were other people who lived in the world besides his grandfather."⁵¹ The clubs subscribed to several farm papers and passed them around among the members. In this way some of the "prejudice against 'book larning'" was being dissipated.⁵²

A typical call for a farmers' meeting appeared in an *Albia* paper in 1865:

We call attention to the meeting at the Court House Friday evening, and invite all that can possibly, and feel any interest in the cultivation of fruit trees and shrubbery, to come to the meeting. Some branch of Agriculture or Horticulture, perhaps both, will be discussed in an entertaining lecture by persons of experience. It is also proposed on that occasion to permanently organize an agricultural club, and make arrangements for establishing a library in connection therewith, so that members may, at trifling expense, avail themselves of such valuable information upon these important subjects — too much neglected by all.⁵³

A farmers' club was organized at Oskaloosa in February of 1865. A Henry County club was suggested by the Mount Pleasant paper, which also promised to publish the proceedings of each meeting for the benefit of all. "The experience of a New York farmer is not as valuable to you as that of an Iowa farmer," the editor reminded his readers, in urging their support of the club. The county already had two such groups, one bearing the name of "Progressive Farmers' Club."

They now have about fifty members, and hold weekly meetings, at which subjects of interest to stock raisers, Agriculturists and Horticulturists are discussed. Thus far, we are told, the meetings have proved highly interesting and beneficial. — They are also

⁵⁰ *Iowa Farmers' Advocate*, 1:69 (November, 1847); 1:93 (January, 1848); Washington Press, Dec. 2, 1857.

⁵¹ *Ia. Ag. Rept.*, 1859, 11.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 11; *Iowa Farmers' Advocate*, 1:69 (November, 1847).

⁵³ *Albia Weekly Union*, March 30, 1865.

collecting a Library, and have already about fifty volumes of appropriate works. This is a most commendable move, and we hope to hear of similar organizations in all parts of the County.⁵⁴

These are only examples of the many farmers' clubs being formed throughout Iowa at this period. Some of them were forerunners of the Granges of the 1870's; others continued their independent existence and their avowed purpose of education and entertainment.

These clubs attempted to improve agricultural practices by discussion and by providing agricultural journals and books for the members. Their importance in this respect can be seen as early as 1861 in a notice by William Duane Wilson regarding the "patent office seeds" which he had for distribution. The Patent Office at Washington had, since the late fifties, furnished seeds to local editors and to secretaries of agricultural societies, in the hope that these individuals would distribute them, either for agricultural or political purposes, to the farmers of their localities. The recipients of this governmental largess were supposed to report on the success or failure of the seeds, but few bothered to do so. The Lucas County Agricultural Society, in 1859, urged that such seeds be given only to the best farmers, "as their votes could not be changed by such bribes," and they would be the ones most likely to give full reports on the results.⁵⁵ Wilson proposed "a more efficient plan."

I have determined, therefore, at least this year to supply first, Agricultural Clubs which have an efficient organization, when I am informed of the same by the Secretaries and their post office address. Second, County Agricultural Societies when notified by the Secretaries thereof, that they want them. Third, to reliable individuals who may write to this office for them, in the order their applications are received.⁵⁶

The chief work and interest of the clubs, however, remained in the discussion of practical farm problems. The subjects discussed were legion. The farmers of Warren County were interested in bringing new manufacturing and new capital to their county. They also sought a remedy for the "present exorbitant railroad charges" and debated the question of the "best representation of the working class in our Legislature." Jefferson County farmers

⁵⁴ Mount Pleasant *Home Journal*, Feb. 17, Nov. 3, 1865.

⁵⁵ *Ia. Ag. Rept.*, 1859, 317.

⁵⁶ Keosauqua *Des Moines News*, Feb. 23, 1861.

were interested in wheat, cattle raising, the improvement of agricultural societies, buttermaking, corn raising, profits in orchards, and haymaking. The ever-present problem — how to make farming more profitable — was likewise discussed several times and at great length.⁵⁷

Mahaska County had a club of "live farmers," but there were a number of "old fogies" in the county who would have nothing to do with them. "They say 'book farming' is a humbug, and that agricultural papers are a nuisance, got up by a set of sharpers to swindle honest men out of their hard earned substance, and that they are too poor to patronize such scamps."⁵⁸ The prejudice against scientific farming was still alive.

The evils against which these various forces battled were, as has been pointed out, the natural outcome of pioneer conditions. A Burlington editor, as early as 1844, suggested that the time had arrived when the farmers could pay more attention to scientific agriculture.

In the early settlement of the territory, subsistence was by necessity, wrung from the soil in the simplest and least artificial manner. The demand was not for stock of particular breeds but for any kind, that would furnish the staples of labor and sustenance, but with the increase of means has come also an ability to make improvements in every department of the calling, and superadded to this, as we doubt not, the inclination.⁵⁹

Other evils, more deep-rooted, were the natural inertia of many farmers, their refusal to change, and a lack of education which made many of the principles of scientific management incomprehensible mysteries. To offset prejudice and ignorance agricultural education was already being agitated. In 1858, at the session of the Seventh General Assembly, Benjamin F. Gue, Robert A. Richardson, and Ed Wright had sponsored a bill for the establishment of a State Agricultural College and Farm. The bill passed, a board of trustees was appointed, the site in Story County selected, and the Farm opened. Passage of the federal land grant for agricultural colleges in 1862 aided the struggling institution, but it was not until 1869 that the College was opened to students.⁶⁰

But before the State Agricultural College could take over the leadership

⁵⁷ *Fairfield Tribune*, April 16, 30, Dec. 24, 1885; Dec. 2, 16, 1886.

⁵⁸ *Prairie Farmer*, 43:272 (August 24, 1872).

⁵⁹ *Burlington Hawk-Eye*, Dec. 19, 1844.

⁶⁰ Earle D. Ross, *A History of the Iowa State College* . . . (Ames, 1942), 16ff.

in the better farming movement, that is, for the thirty years between 1840 and 1870, the fight for improved methods was almost entirely a matter of individual and group effort in the various communities. The College would re-emphasize what agricultural societies and editors had long preached. It would have the advantage, however, of these thirty years of propaganda. What had been accomplished? Had the untiring work of these groups and individuals borne any fruit in the state as a whole, or had their work been confined to a few like-minded and progressive farmers? Were Iowa farming methods "better" in 1870 than in 1840, and if so, whose is the credit?

One source of answers to these questions is the *Report* published annually by the State Agricultural Society, beginning in 1854. For the first few years these volumes are somewhat sketchy, being mostly accounts of the annual fair. But with 1857 they take on an increased value, both for the farmers of that era and for the historian of the present. Aside from the record of the State Fair and the activities of the Board of the Society, the books contained essays on farming in its many phases and reports from each county which had a local society and fair. These *Reports*, thus, give a running account of changing farming conditions over the years.

One conclusion is at once evident. Whereas almost all counties report growing improvement in breeds of livestock, few report improved methods of tillage. The Woodbury County secretary wrote in 1859:

With a soil as rich and fertile as is ours, the great practical study of the farmer is not with reference to enriching the soil, but rather to the adaptation of seeds and modes of culture to the soil. . . . Care as to the rotation of crops has never been practiced with us. Some fields have been planted in corn for 12 years, and it must be owned, with more than average success. It has not been established by our experience that rotation in our soil and climate is essential to success.⁶¹

In Allamakee County, in 1857, a similar report was made: "Farmers generally sow to suit their own circumstances, without regard to roatation [sic] of crops, and generally have a fair yield."⁶² The Belle Plaine Union Agricultural Association, consisting of Benton, Tama, Iowa, and Poweshiek counties, reported no rotation of crops in 1868, since "Many seem

⁶¹ *Ia. Ag. Rept.*, 1859, 416.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 1857, 197.

to have imbibed the erroneous idea that the strength of the soil is inexhaustible."⁶³ Evidence of soil exhaustion begins to show up in some county reports, however. In Decatur County in 1857 wheat averaged 20 bushels per acre, while corn averaged 75; thirteen years later, in 1870, the wheat average had fallen to 9 bushels, that of corn to 40, although it must be noted that this was a year of a bad infestation of "chintz" bugs.⁶⁴ Allamakee County farmers, in 1857, averaged 20 to 25 bushels of wheat and 70 bushels of corn per acre; in 1868 the wheat average had fallen to 15 bushels and corn to 40.⁶⁵

Floyd County, in 1863, reported there was "Too little attention . . . to the economy and use of manures." By 1868, however, things had changed. "The manure from the stables is more generally spread upon the land, and the eye can everywhere detect its effects."⁶⁶ In Jackson County, in 1857, the plowing methods consisted of "skimming the ground"; by 1870 the county secretary reported that "Farming is done with more method and on a more improved plan than in former years. Deep fall plowing is the motto of the farmer, and the farmer's cry of 'The land is rich enough,' is not so often heard."⁶⁷

Cattle were increasingly important in the farm economy in these years, and interest in improved breeds was growing, although the great majority were still "grades" and "scrubs."⁶⁸ Distance from market, plenty of wild grass, and large crops of corn made cattle raising profitable, especially in the more isolated western counties. But a general desire to improve the breed of the stock was lacking, although both newspapers and farm leaders never tired of pointing out to farmers the advantage of better breeding.

On the other hand, hogs were increasing not only in number but also in quality. In 1857 Marshall County farmers had paid little attention to improvements in hogs, but by 1870 Chester Whites had become the favorite. "The merchant vies with the farmer," wrote the county secretary, "and

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 1868, 341.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 1857, 232; 1870, 441.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 1857, 195; 1868, 329.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 1863, 389; 1868, 370.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 1857, 281; 1870, 463.

⁶⁸ Council Bluffs Bugle, Dec. 26, 1867; Fontanelle Adair County Register, June 16, 1870; *Ia. Ag. Rept.*, 1867, 9; 1868 13-14.

the banker with the merchant in efforts to produce the best breed of hogs."⁶⁹ Davis County was "*some on Hogs,*" although the majority were still of the "old, long legged, sharp-nosed, slab-sided, fence despising races." In 1857 no hogs were raised in Decatur County except for home consumption; in 1870 various types of improved breeds, such as the "Magee," Poland China, Chester White, and Berkshire were "generally disseminated."⁷⁰ In 1865 A. G. Nye of Libertyville, in Jefferson County, contributed an essay on "Hog Raising" to the *Report* of the Agricultural Society:

It has been a common practice with farmers in this county, as it is indeed in most new countries, to breed hogs without any regard to the connection of the families bred from, and to raise them upon the principle of "root hog or die." That this is to turn them out in to the woods or on to the prairies to get their own living, feeding them a little corn, just enough to keep them [alive] through the winter, and letting them root for a living through the summer, then shutting them up about the first of October to fatten, feeding about six weeks and then sending them to market. In this way we have succeeded in raising a good deal of snout and bristles but not much pork. A better practice is however now pursued by most of the farmers of Jefferson county. The high price of pork having stimulated them to increase and improve their breed of hogs.⁷¹

In 1867 the secretary of the State Agricultural Society was optimistic about the general improvement in Iowa hogs. "Since this stock is the principal medium of converting the corn crop into cash," he reported, "any suggestion to improve the quality is seized upon with avidity, and the farmer who has not abandoned the common, and adopted the improved breed, must prove a rare exception."⁷² Thus, by the late sixties, the "finer bloods" of swine were popular and much sought after in Iowa.⁷³

These examples could be multiplied many times. The general refrain by 1870 was: better livestock, more attention to such adjuncts as fruit, sheep, sorghum, live hedges, and better barns and outbuildings for the cattle; but poor cultivation, little use of fertilizers, and not much attention

⁶⁹ *Ia. Ag. Rept.*, 1857, 368; 1870, 493.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 1857, 227-8, 232; 1870, 441.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 1865, 358-9.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 1867, 10.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 1868, 361.

to rotation of crops nor to the deep plowing which was then considered essential to proper husbandry.

Thus it would seem that "book farming" had some successes to show for thirty years of propaganda, but also some failures. Several reasons can be cited. It is obvious that better livestock, particularly hogs, brought a more immediate return in money than did the slow and painstaking task of properly cultivating and feeding the soil. In these years the Iowa farmer was gradually moving toward the Corn Belt pattern of farming — corn, hogs, and cattle. Not only the pleas of the scientific farmers, but higher prices for better animals, can be credited with improvements in Iowa livestock between 1840 and 1870. Nevertheless, it was the scientific farmers who had led the way, for without their suggestions and examples, and the backing of editors and businessmen, the necessary knowledge for improving livestock would have been lacking, no matter what the desire might have been.

Another factor had changed Iowa farming methods radically, but whether for better or worse was a question. The decades from 1840 to 1870 saw many new farm machines invented and put into use. These machines enabled the farmer to cultivate more land with fewer farm laborers and to do it faster, but this very fact hurt the cause of scientific farming. Reapers, mowers, planters, the sulky or riding plow, and many other machines were admirably adapted to the level and rolling prairies of the Middle West. These machines did not increase yields, however, nor make for more scientific farming. Rather, "the tendency was more to wear out the soil than to improve it."⁷⁴ Intensive farming, urged by government bureaus and agricultural societies, was not furthered by the new machinery. "To reap with less manpower was the object chiefly in view."⁷⁵ The mechanical revolution in farming was, thus, in some respects the enemy of the scientific revolution in agriculture. A government report concluded that "The success and prosperity of the American farmer are due to the unbounded fertility of the soils, the cheapness of farm lands, and the privilege of utilizing modern inventions in machinery rather than to systematic organization and efficient farm management."⁷⁶

⁷⁴ Shannon, *Farmer's Last Frontier* . . . , 147.

⁷⁵ William T. Hutchinson, "The Reaper Industry and Midwestern Agriculture," in Avery Craven (ed.), *Essays in Honor of William E. Dodd* (Chicago, 1935), 117.

⁷⁶ Quoted in Shannon, *Farmer's Last Frontier* . . . , 147.

Practically all Iowa counties, in their list of improvements during the 1860's, included the increased use of machinery of all kinds. Even here, though, many paid no attention to the proper care of this equipment. Expensive machinery was often left where it was last used, or where it would be convenient for use the next season, but meanwhile it was exposed to wind and weather. In this way farm tools wore out in two or three years. In Clarke County \$300,000 worth of machinery had been bought in the two years before 1870, but few farmers understood how to care for this investment.

Pass through the county and it is no infrequent sight to see a costly mower on the prairie just where the farmer concluded that if we had a mild winter he had enough hay cut. It is true that the "implement" will be handy to hitch to next haying but how long will it last exposed to sunshine, rain, or prairie fires, and is it paid for; other costly labor savers are remaining in the last ditch, others stacked against a breach in the fence. . . .⁷⁷

This picture was not uncommon in the sixties. Farmers were growing prosperous during the war years, the demand for their produce was high, and new laborsaving machinery was offered on attractive terms. The farmer bought the machines, usually "on time," but had little knowledge of how to care for them, and often wore them out before they were paid for. He could "ride in his seat and do nearly all his work from April to October," wrote one enthusiastic booster, who added that "Labor-saving machinery is completely revolutionizing the work of the farm."⁷⁸

Farming was indeed "revolutionized" during the decades before 1870, yet this very revolution was increasing the exhaustion of the soil. Practicing "book farmers" were too few to prevent the steady march of worn-out farmland, a march which had begun on the shores of the Atlantic and was steadily moving into the prairie lands of the Middle West. These same rich prairies tended to make farmers "lazy, careless and slovenly," according to the author of an essay on "General Farming" in the 1866 *Iowa Agricultural Society Report*. Some, who saw their fields producing less each year, gave up, sold out, and moved farther west, but those who remained — if they practiced soil conservation, sowed their pastures to tame grasses for their stock, and rotated their crops — obtained "good

⁷⁷ *Osceola Republican*, Dec. 1, 1870.

⁷⁸ Fontanelle *Adair County Register*, July 25, 1867.

results of their better system of tillage." "The truth is," continued the author, "it requires greater skill and genius to farm well and with success, than most people are aware of. Any ninnyhammer may be called a farmer, simply because he can plow, and sow, and reap, as his father did before him. But farming is a science that few persons well understand. It requires much thought, patience and skill, as well as hard muscle."⁷⁹ M. V. Ashby of Eddyville, in Wapello County, contributed an essay on "General Farming in Iowa" to the 1868 *Report of the State Agricultural Society*:

General farming in Iowa . . . is a system of exhaustion. In every community our attention has been drawn to the careless manner in which farmers regard the manuring of their farms. They do [not] often manure their farms we admit, but while they do occasionally, we believe the extraordinary labor they force the soil to submit to, requires a corresponding return of some substance which will strengthen and support the soil while being so heavily taxed. In the cultivation of corn more land is used by farmers than they possibly can do justice to. This we find is general. Year after year fields are used without endeavoring to restore or strengthen what the crop has consumed. There are so very few exceptions to this rule that we do not consider them. It is notoriously general among farmers. . . .

In the present *modus operandi* for sowing and planting, the rule in Iowa is to continue to sow and reap until there is, finally, a sowing but nothing to reap. . . .⁸⁰

The western custom of moving the barn instead of the manure pile was ruinous to the Iowa soil, and it was this habit against which the agricultural leaders talked and wrote. A future governor of Iowa, Cyrus Clay Carpenter, told the Webster County Agricultural Society in 1869 that "unless the laws of nature have been repealed in favor of the Iowa farmer . . . those who come after us will find that the strength of a soil, now unequaled, has vanished into thin air beneath our feet. . . ." The farmer needed intelligence, not "main strength and awkwardness," said Carpenter. "As much as some men may belittle the idea of book farming, I tell you, intelligence in any business, tells upon its success."⁸¹ Peter Melendy,

⁷⁹ *Ia. Ag. Rept.*, 1866, 481, 483, 486.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 1868, 477-8.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 1869, 339-40, 343.

Suel Foster, William Duane Wilson, J. M. Shaffer, and a long list of others constantly echoed this plea for soil conservation.⁸²

Unfortunately, all too many farmers had the attitude of the easterner turned Iowan who wrote home to the *Barre Gazette* in Massachusetts: he had seen "wheat and corn growing in fields where the same grains have grown fifteen or twenty years, with out the use of a particle of fertilizer," and although he "supposed that this could [not] be the case for an indefinite period . . . it will be long enough for the present generation to get rich and retire from the farm."⁸³ At the same time, in Montgomery County, the farmers considered manure a nuisance and usually burned their straw piles. "'Our land is rich enough without it,' is the cry of too many," reported the county secretary. In Marion County the farmers built portable barns so that they could be moved easily when the manure became "too plenty for the comfort of stock." When manures were used for fertilizer, as in Madison County, it was done "more with a view of getting them out of the way than to fertilize the fields." The result, continued the county report, was a decline in yields of wheat and corn. In Jones County the farmers had all the laborsaving machines, but did no fertilizing.⁸⁴ Although more encouraging reports came from the older, eastern counties, the general picture of farming methods by 1870 was little better than that of 1840.

As the years passed, farm leaders came to realize that the solution lay not alone with the agricultural societies and farm journals, but in the movement for better agricultural education. Peter Melendy told the State Agricultural Society in 1868:

We may, and no doubt to some extent have, awakened in the farmers who yearly come up to our fairs, a desire to enter into a generous competition for the greater improvement of their farms. We can not, however, teach the difficulty with and the remedy for a worn out, barren field, whose weather-beaten surface is a mockery to the most commendable zeal; we can not explain why the same acre will not produce good wheat through all the years, nor why manure seems thrown away in one place, and comparatively worthless in another. In short, we can not

⁸² *Ibid.*, 1859, 350-52; 1863, 10-11, 96-102; 1864, 224-6; 1865, 38.

⁸³ Quoted in Fontanelle *Adair County Register*, July 25, 1867.

⁸⁴ *Ia. Ag. Rept.*, 1868, 396, 414, 420, 429.

make plain what a farm is made of, nor of what are composed the crops yearly reaped from it. These things the farmer must learn elsewhere. An agricultural education is therefore essential to progressive farming.⁸⁵

By 1870, then, it was evident that individual and group action and example were not enough — state-sponsored education was necessary to carry the knowledge of the few to the many. "Book farming" must be taught by the schools, not by speeches at county fairs. That the fairs and the farmers' clubs, the farm journals and local newspapers had contributed mightily to the campaign for better farming is undoubted, but their work had been preliminary only: it paved the way for the more active and more far-reaching work of systematic agricultural education in the schools. Agricultural societies and fairs would continue their work, and Iowa's famous farm journals, *Iowa Homestead*, *Wallaces' Farmer*, and *Successful Farming*, would enjoy wider and wider circulations: but Iowa farmers, in the future, would look to the State College at Ames for education, guidance, and "book farming."

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 56.

DOCUMENTS
DIARY OF S. S. HOWELL, 1868
Edited by Frederick J. Kuhns

It was Friday, July 24, 1868, when the *Golden Age* steamed into the port of San Francisco. Among her passengers were seven from Iowa: the Olneys from Pella and the Howells from Iowa City. Warren Olney, his wife Mary (Craven), and a baby daughter were accompanied by their relatives, S. S. Howell, his wife, and two small sons. Saul Sylvester Howell, at the age of twenty-six, was a professor of Latin and Greek. He was hopeful that his health, undermined by a soldier's duties in the late war and further weakened through overwork, would benefit by a residence in California. His wife, Rhoda Elizabeth (Craven) Howell, born near Washington, Iowa, was only twenty-four and likewise hopeful. The Olneys and Howells had left Iowa City on June 23, seen Niagara Falls on the way, sailed from New York, crossed the Isthmus by the new railway, and spent fourteen days aboard the *Golden Age* in getting to California.¹

Saul Sylvester Howell, the second son of John Gilson and Eliza Ann (Henkle) Howell, was born on December 25, 1841, at Springfield, Ohio. His only brother, John Gilson Howell, Jr., was nearly five years older, while his only sister, Anna Clarinda Howell, was nearly six years younger than himself. The father was a physician, having been graduated from the Eclectic Medical College of Cincinnati in 1852. After the death of the children's mother, Dr. Howell removed to Pella, Iowa. In 1856 he married Margaret Stout Goudie from Brookville, Indiana, who, as "Mother" Howell, was admired by the entire Pella community, especially for her marked hospitality to the college students.² A famous Iowa family, doubtless known to Dr. Howell, also came from Brookville—Coker F. Clarkson and his sons, James S. and Richard P. "Father" Clarkson bought

¹ Lloyd A. Howell of Iowa City has Professor Howell's Bible containing many entries about the family from which these data have been gleaned. Another source of family information is Anna Howell Clarkson, *A Beautiful Life and Its Associations* (New York, 1903), *passim*.

² Clarkson, *A Beautiful Life* . . ., 97-100.

good land in Grundy County, while Richard and later James worked on the Des Moines *Iowa State Register*, a paper which the three Clarksons bought in 1870.³ As Professor Howell notes in his diary, his sister, Anna, married James S. (Ret) Clarkson on December 26, 1867, at Pella.

Howell started out to obtain his higher education at Central University, then a Baptist college in Pella. Since Central was a coeducational college, Howell and his friend Warren Olney soon discovered how congenial could be the company of their fellow students, Rhoda and Mary Craven of "Cravendon"—the old farm place near Washington, Iowa, belonging to their father, Calvin Craven, one of Central's most generous donors.⁴

But these were days that tried men's souls, for the American flag had been fired upon, and the life of the Union was at stake. Almost every Central University man put on the uniform of his country and went to war—including, of course, Olney and Howell, both of whom enlisted on May 21, 1861, the one as a private, and the other as a fourth sergeant. Both were mustered in together, served in Company B of the Third Iowa Infantry Regiment, and fought at Pittsburg Landing in April, 1862. Howell was made a first sergeant and by April 20 was commissioned a first lieutenant. In October he resigned his commission, coming home in a weakened condition, a victim of fever.⁵

Interrupted though it had been, Howell's formal education was completed at the State University of Iowa in June of 1864, with the B.A. degree. He was valedictorian of his class. Three years later he received an M.A. degree.⁶ From 1864 to 1866, Howell was on the teaching staff of Central University—the first Central student to occupy a "chair" in that school.⁷ Howell and Rhoda Craven were married February 2, 1865.

³ For the Clarksons, see Fred J. Lazell, "Some Prominent Editors," *The Palimpsest*, 17:139-40 (April, 1936); and George Mills, "The Des Moines Register," *ibid.*, 30: 283-9 (September, 1949).

⁴ Clarkson, *A Beautiful Life* . . . , 71-3.

⁵ See *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers* . . . (6 vols., Des Moines, 1908), 1:338, 365.

⁶ "Alumni Register Number," *The Iowa Alumnus*, 8:52 (September, 1911). Howell's valedictory was delivered in the Methodist church, "with unusual warmth and feeling." *Iowa City Republican*, July 4, 1864. The young graduate took as his theme the words of the poet Horace, "*Dulce est pro patria mori*," developing out of his own recent military experience illustrations of the sweetness of dying for one's country. The address, in manuscript, is in the possession of Lloyd A. Howell of Iowa City.

⁷ Clarkson, *A Beautiful Life* . . . , 71-3.

In 1866 Howell accepted the trustees' invitation to teach at the State University of Iowa. Before picking up and packing up for California, he taught Latin and Greek during the 1866-1867 school year; in 1867 he was made principal of the Preparatory department, which was in a flourishing condition during his tenure. Efficient high schools gradually became more prevalent in the state, and the department was abolished in 1879.⁸ But in the time of Howell, its work was absolutely essential, and he was its spirited head for the academic year of 1867-1868.

A university's best reporters of its life are, of course, those members of its own staff who take the time to jot down or write up what goes on, campus-wise and otherwise, in the university community. In that war-torn, strife-ridden decade of the 1860's many kept journals, and one who did this was Professor Howell, whose leather-bound, vest-pocket diary for the year 1868 has been well preserved by his descendants. This diary brings back the goings-on of city and University folk as they were in 1868.

The University, during Howell's years on the campus, was passing through a period of marked transition in so far as the organization of the departmental work was concerned. It was also experiencing a recovery from the war years, when most of the male students "of suitable age" were serving in the army. In the two years, 1865-1867, however, there was a substantial gain in the enrollment as a "large body of young men who had returned from the army, entered the University." Pickard has said: "At no time in the history of the institution has there been so large a proportion of mature men graduated as between the years 1866 and 1870."⁹

The University campus at this time consisted of ten acres, "tastefully laid out with graveled walks." There were three buildings: Old Capitol, South Hall, and the New Chapel (North Hall), the last having been completed in 1866.¹⁰ The University itself was without a president, but Professor Nathan R. Leonard of the mathematics department was filling the office of acting president. Serving with him were the four regular members of the faculty and a tutor, included on the Collegiate staff, and the

⁸ J. L. Pickard, "Historical Sketch of the State University of Iowa," *Annals of Iowa* (third series), 4:33 (April, 1899).

⁹ *Ibid.*, 39.

¹⁰ *Catalogue of the Iowa State University at Iowa City, 1866-67* (Des Moines 1867), 47-52.

members of the Preparatory department, consisting of the principal, four young ladies as assistants, and two music teachers. As president *pro tempore* Professor Leonard in 1867 drew the handsome salary of \$1,800; the other full professorships paid \$1,400 each. S. S. Howell, as principal of the Preparatory department, received \$1,250. The Board of Trustees had abolished the tuition fees in all the departments; but each student was still required to pay, in advance, an "Incidental Fee" of \$5.00 per term. It is of interest that "all Iowa soldiers now citizens of the State," and who had served in the Union army or been honorably discharged from the service of the United States, were entitled to "the privileges of the University without the payment of the Incidental Fee."¹¹

On reading the diary of Professor Howell one discovers the range of interests which predominated among the more than 6,000 Iowa Citizens of that day: there were churches for the church-goers; while lectures, recitals, musicales, circuses, singing families, the University literary societies, and Y.M.C.A. meetings provided an almost endless variety of entertainment and instruction. In 1868, a presidential year, in addition to the prevailing excitement of the impeachment proceedings against Andrew Johnson, the nominating conventions of both the major parties swept popular feeling to a new high, the November election of General Grant providing the climax. Yet, as the diary reveals, the various professional, cultural, and scientific interests of the Latin and Greek professor were but the complement of the life of his home where, according to all indications, peace and quietude reigned. Howell loved his family and took delight in making a circular sewing stand for his wife, or a chair, or doing over an old lounge. There was wood to cut, a cottonwood tree to take down, and a cistern to clean — witness enough that he bore his end of the load at home.¹²

This 1868 diary covers Howell's last six months in Iowa, his journey to California, and the beginning of his new life in the West. Only that part dealing with his life and work in Iowa City is here reproduced. The diary has kindly been made available to the State Historical Society for publication by Professor Howell's grandson, Lloyd A. Howell of Iowa City.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 52; Pickard, "Historical Sketch . . .," 39; J. L. Pickard, "State University of Iowa," in "Historical Souvenir, 1830 to 1889," *The Iowa Normal Monthly*, 12: 314-29 (February, 1889); Leonard F. Parker, *Higher Education in Iowa* (Washington, 1893), 90-92.

¹² The Howells were active members of the local Baptist church where the professor sang in the choir and served as clerk.

Eleven years after bidding a final farewell to his hundreds of students and friends in Iowa City, S. S. Howell died at Oakland, California, on May 10, 1879.

Wednesday, January 1, 1868. With me the New Year's First day is occupied in examinations at the South Hall, State University of Iowa.¹³ My position as Prin. Prep. Dept. [Principal of the Preparatory Department] renders it necessary to conduct preliminary examinations of all students entering my dept. for the first time. The winter term opens to-morrow.¹⁴ Returned from Pella, with A. C., yesterday at 2 a.m. Little Irving sick.¹⁵

Thursday 2. Little son broken out with scarlet fever. Wife well. Andrew & I have been on a ten-day visit to Pella to see Anna & Ret¹⁶ married. They were tied by E. H. S.¹⁷ 26th December. Go to Pella via Des Moines — Distance (120 miles plus 46) 146 miles. Fare \$7.80. Weather beautiful. Very mild winter thus far — School opens well to-day. Good attendance at chapel¹⁸ at 10 this morning. Still examining new students.

Friday 3. Commenced recitations at 8 this a.m. Gave out schedules and heard my two Greek classes. This term I will teach only these two classes. Expect to have charge of the College Rhetoricals¹⁹ this term as I had last, in lieu of one class. Assistants this term — E. A. and C. A. Moore, Brown & Davis.²⁰ Good girls. I weigh 142 lbs.

¹³ In 1868 the University's buildings consisted of "the elegant stone structure erected for a State House; a large four-story brick building used for Society Halls, and Recitation Rooms, and the New Chapel." These were Old Capitol, South Hall, and North Hall. *Catalogue . . . 1866-67*, 47.

¹⁴ The University calendar was divided into three terms.

¹⁵ "A. C." was Professor Howell's son, Andrew Craven Howell, born at Pella on November 15, 1865. He lived until April 15, 1949. For his obituary, see *Iowa City Press-Citizen*, April 15, 1949. Irving Clinton Howell, born at Iowa City on May 18, 1867, died on September 24, 1868, at Healdsburg, California.

¹⁶ Howell's sister, Anna, and James S. (Ret) Clarkson. See introduction.

¹⁷ "E. H. S.," the initials of the Rev. Emmanuel H. Scarff, the Baptist minister in Pella and Principal of Central University. *Souvenir History of Pella, Iowa* (Pella, 1922), 66-7, 119.

¹⁸ Chapel service was held in the New Chapel, North Hall, and was compulsory. The faculty took turns in conducting these daily exercises. *Catalogue . . . 1866-67*, 50.

¹⁹ The rhetoricals, held in the Chapel, were required weekly exercises which were calculated to teach students poise and effectiveness in appearing before an audience. *Ibid.*, 51

²⁰ Lavinia Davis, Emma Brown, Ellen A. Moore, and Celia A. Moore. Miss Celia A. Moore later became Mrs. Amos N. Currier. *Ibid.*, 6.

Saturday 4. Examined students to-day and led choir at night. These 4 days I have been incessantly engaged at the college with my students from morning till night, and, in some cases till after dark. Covenant meeting this P.M., but my college work kept me away. Choir ran down recently. Had trouble with pastor. Congregation quite small — choir not as large as formerly. Use Jubilate by Emerson.

Sunday 5. This A. M. I gave up my place as Supt. Bapt. S. Sch. to E. A. Colburn the new Supt. I was re-elected but refused to accept. Am chorister of Ch and S. School, Ch. clerk &c. and want to be relieved from some of my work. Wife went to ch. and I kept the babies at home. Greek Bible class (N[ew] T[estament]) at 2 P.M. Prof. C[urrier]²¹ conducts it in church at night. New Year's sermon to (a few) young men.

Monday 6. School quite prosperous. Bot. a \$38 sofa — \$18 chair and \$3 stand this P.M. Traded off my silver English lever to Startzman for a new, chronometer balance, P. S. Bartlett, silver capped watch — Price of watch \$35 — of silver key & chain \$5. Am to pay him \$29 in cash. Weather turning very cold. Warm last week and I had my long hair cropped. Have cold continually. Expect Ret & Anna soon.

Tuesday 7. Ret and Anna came this P.M. They appear gay and happy. Ret is going to write up the University and the Deaf & Dumb Asylum.²² Ch. meeting to-night. New articles of incorporation. Election of officers. Hampton displaces Dea. Dennison. Sperry Treas. myself clerk. About 80 ch. members present. Still horribly cold, cloudy and windy.

Wednesday 8. Took Ret thro' college to some extent. Heard my two classes, briefly. We are in Frigid Zone still. Our visitors sleep in our bed-room and we on the floor in sitting room. Visited Prof. Hinrichs²³ this P.M. (late) He showed us many interesting experiments with the spectrometer. Musical convention in session here this week. I have a ticket & have called twice. Good.

²¹ Amos N. Currier, professor of Latin and Greek, also librarian in this period, and acting president in 1898. *Ibid.*, 5. The latest work on Currier is Luella M. Wright, *Amos Noyes Currier* (Centennial Memoirs, Iowa City, 1947).

²² In 1853 a school for the blind was opened at Iowa City; two years later a school for the deaf was founded and also located at Iowa City. In 1862 the school for the blind moved to its present location at Vinton, and in 1870 the school for the deaf was transferred to Council Bluffs. See *State of Iowa Official Register, 1949-1950*, 197-8.

²³ Gustavus Hinrichs, professor of natural philosophy and chemistry. *Catalogue . . . 1866-67*, 5.

Thursday 9. Ret and Anna left on the noon train to-day. It seems lonely since they left, altho' I am very fond of my wife's company and of my boys'. Mercury 5° below zero, Prof. Parvin²⁴ says, tho' it seems 15° or 20° below to me. Am making a work stand for wife. Very tedious — but will be pretty when done. Awful cold, 4 mos. of age — not much on lungs.

Friday 10. A very successful week closes to-day. School not quite as large as last term, but classes are quite large.²⁵ This year we will have over 100 students commencing Latin — over 90 in Algebra, 6 in Anabasis and 11 in Com. Greek. Weather moderating to-day, but still cold. All of us have terrible colds. Wrote G. J. Johnson about my life membership in Am. Bapt. Pub. Society.

Saturday 11. Carpenter business to-day. Made a circular sewing stand for wife; also a wooden chair for A. C. Rigged up an old lounge. Cut wood. Weather very cold again. Colburn & I only at choir meeting. Heard Rev. Milburn,²⁶ the Episcopalian, lecture on "Success: Real and apparent." It was a strong effort. He has rare vocal powers. Highly cultivated.

Sunday 12. 92 at Sunday School. We sing from the "Fresh Laurels," and have used the book from its first publication this fall. Wife went to church both times to-day. In the P.M. to the Epis. ch. to hear the Rev. W. H. Milburn preach. She came home feeling that there was very little religion in the service. Attended Greek Test. class at 2 P.M. We now meet at the college, instead of at the Room of Y.M.C.A.

Monday 13. Weather moderating, but a cutting, damp, east wind prevails all day. Am going to have a very nice work stand for wife. The covering & leather, tacks &c. cost only \$1.25. The lumber, worth 25c. I cut all our wood. Have paid but about \$2.00 for cutting wood since we commenced housekeeping — & that was all at Iowa City.

Tuesday 14. Two or three inches of snow last night. Slight sprinkle

²⁴ Theodore S. Parvin, professor of chemistry, geology, and history. *Idem*.

²⁵ The enrollment in the University for 1867-1868 was 445 students. *University of Iowa News Bulletin* (February, 1927).

²⁶ The Rev. William H. Milburn, a partly blind Methodist minister, lectured in various parts of the West on subjects of national or regional significance. See *Iowa City Republican*, Jan. 15, 1868. See also, Luella M. Wright, "Culture Through Lectures," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, 38:115-62 (April, 1940). Milburn wrote the important volume, *The Pioneers, Preachers and People of the Mississippi Valley* (New York, 1860), besides other works on frontier life.

of it to-day. Wind south & weather warm compared with the below zero weather of last week. Have two fine Greek classes. Doing well. Attended a Tachygraphy [shorthand] class this P. M. at Coml. Coll.²⁷ Think I will join. . . .

Wednesday 15. Cistern pumped dry! Had a load of ice hauled last night. \$.40 pr load. We thaw the ice for water. Weather superlatively cold. Have staid at home every night this week. Wonderful! Am going to take a course in Tachygraphy.

Thursday 16. 11° below zero this A.M. Still. Cold air pipe in chapel makes the chapel quite comfortable. This term, for the first we arrange the students according to college classes. The collegiates proper occupy the body seats — next on either side the Prep. st.; next (walls) the Normals. The choir sit at the left of the platform — or east of it. Went to prayer meeting tonight. 20 [present].

Friday 17. Had rhetorical this P. M. Fairbrother acted shabbily about his piece. He had been app[ointed] by Prof. Hinrichs last term. Did not perform to-day tho' he rehearsed yesterday. At Fac. meeting, Prof. Leonard²⁸ read an address showing the wants of the College & its comparative wealth, taking as standards Ann Arbor [University of Michigan] & other colleges. Fat contributor²⁹ to-night. Didn't go.

Saturday 18. Prof. Eggert³⁰ lectured this ev'g on "Bismarck & the Prussian Policy." Slim attendance. Employed by the F. S. I.³¹ Had an ordinary choir meeting — not very well attended. Finished the work stand.

Sunday 19. Wife went to meeting — she came home saying there was a called meeting. I slid up to the church just in time to see the vote taken on the question of receiving the resignation of A. H. Stowell & of giving

²⁷ The Iowa City Business College. University students could take summer courses or part-time instruction during the University year. *Catalogue* . . . 1866-67, 47.

²⁸ Nathan R. Leonard, professor of mathematics and astronomy, also vice-president in 1866 and acting president in 1867. *Ibid.*, 5.

²⁹ "Fat Contributor" was A. N. Griswold, editor of the Cincinnati *Times*. The Iowa City *Republican* for Jan. 15, 1868, hailed him as "a new light in the world of humor" and as "a rival of Parson Petroleum [Nasby]." His lecture subject was "Injun Meal." The *Republican* urged people to attend "that they may laugh and grow 'Fat.'"

³⁰ Charles A. Eggert, professor of German and French. Iowa City *Republican*, Jan. 15, 1868.

³¹ Franklin Scientific Institute, whose object was "the collection of valuable scientific information, and its presentation in intelligent form." Iowa City *Republican*, Jan. 15, 1868.

letters to himself, wife & daughters. I did not fully understand the motion — hence did not vote. The matter was legal but did not seem right. Had a call by Bixby, Mordoff, Hampton & Sperry.³²

Monday 20. Pastor came for his letters. I refused to issue them till next ch. meeting. He took on terribly. Besought, begged & almost threatened. My duty seems perfectly plain and I am determined to see justice done if possible.

Tuesday 21. Wife and I are having a fine time reading Dickens' *American Notes*. I think *He* will now find many changes for the better since his visit in 1842.³³ By the way he first went aboard the packet for America when I was an infant less than two weeks old, "mewling & puking in my nurse's arms."

Wednesday 22. On Monday last, we employed Mrs. Milliken³⁴ to teach 3 classes the remainder of the term. She has Analysis (2 cl.) & one cl. of Latin. Have about 310 students in school now & on my term book. My classes are very pleasant. Dickens in his tour thro' the U. S. reading to audiences receives from \$5,000 to \$20,000 per night — perfectly remarkable. How we pay our money to see a man, & how we avoid giving to a worthy object!

Thursday 23. Large attendance at prayer meeting. Had Rhetorical rehearsal to-day. This teaching business is glorious work. How lofty the occupation to be moulding immortal mind. I am lost on reflecting on its awful responsibility. Oh! for help divine in my work! Had special Faculty meeting.

Friday January 24. Invited to tea to Prof. Leonard's. Wife couldnt go. Present — Lady teachers, Mrs. Drinkwater, Prof. Parvin & wife, Prof. Eggert, Currier & myself. Fair supper. Good cheer. Separated at 10 P. M.

Saturday 25. Cut wood several hours. Had Mrs. Dexter & Cory Smith, Mrs. Hampton & Prof. Currier to supper. Stanton³⁵ is restored Secy.

³² The Rev. A. H. Stowell was minister of the Baptist church of Iowa City. No information has been discovered as to the cause of this church quarrel. The names mentioned are those of Iowa Citians active in the church. G. P. Mitchell (ed.), *A Century of Iowa Baptist History* (2 vols., Pella, 1934), 1:222-3.

³³ Charles Dickens, *American Notes for General Circulation* (Boston, 1867), recorded the author's impressions of his first visit to America in 1842. His last visit was made in the winter of 1867.

³⁴ Priscilla E. Milliken, A. B., 1872, who later taught the Classics. Pickard, "Historical Sketch . . ." 43.

³⁵ Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War, whose removal from office President Andrew

of War. Banner Bowen in legislature. Jno. P. Irish³⁶ is creating some stir in the legislature.

Sunday 26. 88 at S. School. Greek Bible class at 2. Sermon by Prof. Fellows,³⁷ on Theme, Child Life—a Type of Christian childhood given for Instruction & discipline. Child must have good food. So Christian. 2. Pure air. So Chr. Oxy. in air. Faith in Prayer—same—Must exercise—so Christian. Child has artlessness, teachableness &c. so Chr. Child faith in father. We should have. Child always trusts till *deceived*. Child loves with all his feeble powers. Do we? Child innocent. Are we? We are children. Spend manhood in heaven. Appeal to unconverted.

Monday 27. Severe article from Parker vs. Hinrichs in Reg. of 25th. Subject: Mohr's theory of Coal origin. Prof. Dana of Yale & Prof. Hinrichs have had a big fight on a charge of plagiarism, as urged against the former by the latter. Hence when Parker brings in Dana in proof of vegetable origin of coal Prof. H. is much annoyed. A sharp reply from him will appear.³⁸

Tuesday 28. Last night church matters were thus settled. The pastor agreed to resign at once; to accept as salary pay to Feb. 1, on basis of \$1,000 pr year; to receive a simple letter of dismission to which shall be appended a copy of the Com. on his moral & christian character. He hated to do this but had to yield. I was censored by Robert & Colburn for refusing him a letter last week.

Wednesday 29. 16° below zero!!! Semicircle from one Sun dog to another around the sun. Brightest I ever saw. Not much wind. 10° below zero in chapel, without fire. 30° & 28° at chapel exercises. At home last night and to-night. Family well.

Thursday 30. Have just had 500 blank orders on Bapt. Treasury printed.

Johnson sought to accomplish. See the editorials and the correspondence relative to this question in the *Iowa City Republican*, Jan. 22, Feb. 19, 1868.

³⁶ John P. Irish, of Iowa City, Representative to the Iowa General Assembly from Johnson County, was editor of the *Iowa City State Press*, a Democratic paper. Irish was eager to secure the passage of a bill for the enlargement of the University. Banner Bowen of Pella represented Marion County in the legislature of 1868.

³⁷ Stephen N. Fellows, principal of the Normal department, 1867–1873. See *The Iowa Normal Monthly*, 12:323–6 (February, 1889).

³⁸ This controversy over the land or marine plant origin of coal was between H. W. Parker of Iowa College at Grinnell and Gustavus Hinrichs of the State University of Iowa. Both letters were reprinted in the *Iowa City Republican*, Feb. 5, 1868.

Brainerd³⁹ asked \$3.50, Irish \$2.50. So went to latter. B. is exorbitant in other matters I am told. I see in his county printing about 75\$ were deducted from his bill. Nellie Moore spunky because I made certain Virgil suggestions.

Friday 31. Letter from C. F. C. in which he says he has written to the Gov. about Supt. Weights and Measures.⁴⁰ Hinrichs' article appears in Register of to-day vs Parker. It is biting sharp & severe. If P's fingers are not awfully pinched then I am much mistaken. Faculty had the article read at Fac. meeting.

Saturday, February 1, 1868. Weather mild again. Large covenant meeting. Heard Petroleum V. Nasby⁴¹ to-night. He had a glorious, sarcastic, cutting speech on "Cursed be Canaan." He dropped off the "Rev." but indulged in much satire. In person I think he's about 5.9, heavy built, rather coarse than otherwise, dark hair. Common looking whiskers. Big success. Cleared about \$125. Last year in the course we made some \$800. This year have lost some \$25. Made it up to-night.

Sunday 2. Granger⁴² preached today. Stowell girls at S. School & church. Ex-pastor & wife absent. Letter from J. G. Schaeffer yesterday. Had not heard from him before for 2½ yrs. He is at Sharon, Wis., at the head of a Collegiate Institute. Wrote him, father, Olneys & mother Craven this evening. Greek class numbers some 15. Quite interesting to all.

Monday 3. Senator [Liberty E.] Fellows of the Senate & Hon.[Charles G.] Trusdell of the house are now here to visit the University. At 2 P. M. had a meeting at the Library, of Messrs Irish, Blackwell, Kirkwood, Rush Clark, Haddock, Crum, Perkins, Currier, Leonard, Howell, Senator Fellows, Prof. Fellows, Eggert, Fairall, Parvin & Dr. White.⁴³ Had a full conference

³⁹ N. H. Brainerd, editor of the *Iowa City Republican*.

⁴⁰ "C. F. C." refers to Coker F. Clarkson. The Governor in 1868 was Samuel Merrill. The office of State Superintendent of Weights and Measures to which Howell was appointed had been created in 1862, with a salary of \$50 a year. According to law, the office was to be filled by a professor of the State University, *Laws of Iowa, 1862-1864*, Ch. 82.

⁴¹ Petroleum Vesuvius Nasby, whose rightful name was Donald Ross Locke. See the *Iowa City Republican* for Feb. 5, 1868. See also Luella M. Wright, "Culture Through Lectures," 147-50.

⁴² Granger W. Smith, the son of the Rev. Dexter Smith, a former Baptist minister at Iowa City. Mitchell (ed.), *A Century of Iowa Baptist History*, 1:222-3.

⁴³ A committee of the General Assembly, visiting the University and the Deaf and Dumb Asylum, preparatory to vote on the appropriations asked by those

about the University matters and hope the talk will result in great gain to the interests of education in Iowa — the State U. in particular.

Tuesday 4. Dropped in at the students' prayer meeting. Must have been sixty present. The exercises were impressive. As I was one of the original organizers of this prayer meeting, in 1863, I take a special pleasure in its growth. Of that number (some six or eight) poor Borland⁴⁴ is in the grave! Granger Smith & I are here. The others are gone.

[No entry for February 5.]

Thursday 6. Anna Dickenson [sic] spoke to a crowded house on "Idiots & Women," they two being classed together as those who should not vote. She spoke 1 hr 40 min. Had a few notes. She is about 4 ft. 6., dark complexion, long oval face, flashing eyes, ugly big nose.⁴⁵ Other wise looks like a cross between Minerva Prentice & Celia Moore. Cleared about \$140.

Friday 7. Wife and I visited a lecture establishment. Saw the wonders of the Yo-Sem-i-te valley (Cal.) spread on a sheet, in a dark room, boys screaming and whistling their approval. The big trees, El Capitan.⁴⁶ Prof. Eggert was married to a Miss French of Muscatine, last night. He comes here to-night.

Saturday 8. The Legislature are very busy passing laws, and doing good generally. The liquor question is greatly agitated [sic] them. Bushels of petitions have been rec'd on the subject—the most of them to secure a more stringent prohibitory law. Others to have a license law.⁴⁷

institutions, met with the trustees and faculty of the University. Fellows and Trusdell were chairmen of the Senate and House committees, respectively. Editor Brainerd reported that "they expressed themselves as highly pleased with the labors of those in charge of these institutions, and also with the moderation shown in appropriations asked for. . . . These gentlemen take liberal and just views of the demands and true purposes of the State University. They believe that Iowa should not lag behind the foremost in the character of her chief educational institution." *Iowa City Republican*, Feb. 5, 1868.

⁴⁴ Charles E. Borland, professor of Latin and Greek, 1863-1864; deceased while on the staff.

⁴⁵ Anna Elizabeth Dickinson, probably the best-known woman orator of the day, had gained fame during the Civil War years. For her background and importance, see James Harvey Young, "Anna Elizabeth Dickinson and the Civil War . . .," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 31:59-80 (June, 1944). For an account of her 1868 speaking tour in Iowa, see Wright, "Culture Through Lectures," 146-7.

⁴⁶ The lecture, delivered by a Mr. Veeder, was entitled "Panorama of the Yosemite Valley." *Iowa City Republican*, Feb. 12, 1868.

⁴⁷ The legislative acts passed in 1868 were a compromise between total prohibition and licensing. See Dan Elbert Clark, "History of Liquor Legislation in Iowa, 1861-1878," *IOWA JOURNAL HISTORY AND POLITICS*, 6:344-7 (July, 1908).

Sunday 9. Heard Prof. Fellows again. Have a good bible class, of young ladies. Greek Bible Class in P. M. Are in 8th Ch. John. Excepting the words seldom found in classic Greek the reading is very easy.

Monday 10. Rec'd this ev'g notice that I had been appointed Supt. of Weights and measures. "Ret" gives a graphic account of Anna Dickenson's lecture on "Breakers ahead" at Des Moines. Mercury 27° below zero this A.M. say at daylight & 23° below at 8 o'clock. Next coldest day on the 29th Jan., 16° below. Still. Do not suffer as much as from a damp East wind with mercury above zero.

Tuesday 11. Mercury 10° below this A.M. The Young People's Prayer Meeting at the college is well attended. This evening there must have been over 50 in attendance. I am trying to secure a complete set of the Adj. Genl's Reports for the library Y.M.C.A.

Wednesday 12. Jno. P. Irish is the author of a bill just introduced, establishing a Law Dept. at Iowa City — Appropn. \$25,000 to the College & levying 1/10 mill tax in the state. There is good reason to hope the bill will pass.⁴⁸

Thursday 13. Did not go to prayer meeting, or to Mrs. Savery's lecture.⁴⁹

Friday 14. Irving is unwell. Has cough and much uneasiness. Mrs. Savery's lecture is said by C. N. to be an imitation of Annie Dickenson's, hence not good. Subject was "Angels & politicians." Prof. Leonard returned yesterday from Des Moines. He thinks Univ. matters are O. K.

Saturday 15. Attended an oyster supper given by Prof. Eggert to some 25 students and the Faculty. Had a good time. Home at 9.30. Irving still quite unwell — has symptoms of the lung fever.

Sunday 16. Irving so sick that I staid at home all day. Prof. Fellows is preaching for us, once each sabbath. We all like him. Prof. C. & I took

⁴⁸ The bill, called the "Normal School and University Tax Bill," was introduced by Representatives Blackwell and Irish, both of Johnson County. The expansion of the State University was proposed by the levying of a tax of one-tenth of one mill, but this feature did not carry. An appropriation of \$25,000 was provided by the Twelfth General Assembly, however, which made it possible for the University to establish the Colleges of Law and Medicine, and to make badly needed repairs on buildings. See *House Journal, 1868*, and *Senate Journal, 1868*, *passim*.

⁴⁹ "ANOTHER LECTURE. — Mrs. Annie Savery, of Des Moines, will lecture . . . upon the subject of 'Angels and Politicians.' . . . There is this against her — She is an Iowa woman, and there seems an unwillingness to believe that an Iowa lecturer can be worth hearing. But we hope our people will make an exception in favor of an Iowa woman. Should they do so we feel sure . . . that they will have the satisfaction of knowing that Iowa has talent of the first order." *Iowa City Republican*, Feb. 12, 1868.

a walk this P. M. while Mrs. Sperry staid with wife. Weather very warm. No overcoat or shawl needed. Read a chapter in Greek.

Monday 17. Did not go to Chapel. Baby won't let me tend him. Wife up with him the most of last night. Have paid \$40 to the Am. Bapt. Publ. Soc. Have rec'd certificates of Life Membership, one for wife, one for me. At home. The Legislature is now taking a recess of nearly two weeks. They meet the 25th.

Tuesday 18. Baby still bad. We put a poultice on his chest, of onions. Give him cough syrup. Wife spent another restless night. I wish I could take care of the little chap but no one will do but mother. She does not want a girl to help. Very warm. Mud several inches deep now. There will soon be a break up & thaw out, if such weather cont[inues].

Wednesday 19. Have rec'd the Daily Register since about the middle of Jan. It is a welcome visitor. The "Blade" came to-day. H. G. Curtis bot. out Crosby, and he & Betzer "run" the "Blade."⁵⁰ They (for the first time I think) have just had the county printing given to them. T. P. Gregg is chm. of Board of Supervisors in Old Marion [County]. . . .

Thursday 20. Baby slowly improving—still very sick and cross. Did not go to prayer meeting. Weather quite warm. Yesterday & to-day (P. M.) cut up the branches of the old cottonwood tree. Prof. C. helped me cut wood. Played three or four games of backgammon.

Friday 21. Gov. Saml Merrill in town to-day. He met the Faculty this evening at Pres. Leonard's. He is the counterpart of J. B. Cotton of Pella. Has large frame—is about 5.10—weighs (say) 190. Large, smooth, rounded forehead. Has an easy, comfortable look, similar to that of Ezekiel Clark,⁵¹ and in fact he resembles him, tho' not quite so bulky.

Saturday 22 Henry Vincent, the English orator delivered a grand lecture on Cromwell, this evening. He is short and stout—quite gray. This evening he had a thin, squaking voice at first, which, however, grew stronger and fuller as he proceeded. His gesticulation was limited & mechanical. His impersonation quite good.⁵² Met Rev. Leroy Church to-day.

⁵⁰ The reference is to the Pella *Blade*.

⁵¹ Ezekiel Clark, prominent Iowa legislator, was one of the early settlers in Iowa City and a brother-in-law of Governor Samuel J. Kirkwood. *Annals of Iowa* (third series), 3:575 (October, 1898).

⁵² Henry Vincent's lectures are mentioned in Hubert H. Hoeltje, "Notes on the History of Lecturing in Iowa, 1855-1885," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*,

Sunday 23. Union service to-day. Mr. Burnell a lay worker, conducted three services to-day.⁵³ We had preaching at our ch. in A. M., by Rev. Tilly. Wife went to 3 P. M. meeting at college. I went to North ch. in evening. Burnell is a great worker — goes into saloons and tries to save men. Good meetings to-day.

Monday 24. Church meeting. Short. After it I attended a phrenological lecturer by name John Logan,⁵⁴ said by "the newspapers" to be a logical and eloquent orator. He is a very poor speaker & dry. I felt somewhat disgusted. He made public ex[amination] of Daniels & J. R. Hartsock (selected by Dr. Adams & me). The lect. delivers a course here.

Tuesday 25. Andy Johnson to be impeached!⁵⁵ Kept aloof from the lecture [by Logan]. Any Jackass can obtain a cartload of Recommendations. Regard as blessings all evils *Escaped*.

Wednesday 26. Y.M.C.A. to-night. I have not attended any this winter. Wife needs me at home. Rec'd my Commission as Supt. Weights and measures for the State of Iowa.

Thursday 27. Day of prayer for Colleges! Dr. Anderson of Davenport (Presb.) delivered a solid and interesting address to the students, on the Importance of Time to us. It is so short! So much must be done for eternity. We often stop our work to rest before we are tired.

Friday 28. Had better rhetorical than usual. Zim[merman] had a burlesque in favor of Indian suffrage. Zetagath. exhib. this P.M. Lasted till 11

35:62-131 (January, 1927). Regarding his voice, Brainerd suggested that it might be improved by removing his mustache: "No man can speak clearly through a bunch of hair, and there is no excuse for it." *Iowa City Republican*, Feb. 26, 1868.

⁵³ K. A. Burnell, of Wisconsin, a carpenter subsidized as a religionist by a New York merchant. On this particular day he addressed four Sabbath schools in Iowa City, spoke at the University Chapel service, and preached at both morning and evening union services of the Methodist, Presbyterian, Baptist, and Congregational churches. *Iowa City Republican*, Feb. 26, 1868.

⁵⁴ Under the heading "Know Thyself" the newspaper gave "Prof." John Logan the usual "puff." His lectures covered such subjects as "the practical application of Phrenology; Health and how to preserve it; What and how to eat, breathing, exercise &c," and were "illustrated by paintings and by selecting from the audience such ladies and gentlemen as best represent the different temperaments and developments." In addition to the lectures, Logan held private conferences, by appointment. "Those who wish to know what is in them and what they are best fitted for will do well to call on him and get a map of themselves," concluded the editor. *Iowa City Republican*, Feb. 19, 26, 1868.

⁵⁵ The subject of President Johnson's impeachment occupied much space in the *Iowa City Republican*. See editorial, "The Traitor in the White House," in the issue of Feb. 26, 1868.

P.M. — Glass, a Latin oration, Preston (C. H.) Essay on Family of Nations. Debate on Catholic question by Lytle & Walker Aff[irmative] & Cook & Davis on neg[at]ive]. Decis[i]on for aff. Comic patent sermon, Z[im]merman], orat[i]on by C. P. Rogers & valed[i]ctory by L. H. Jackson. All good, but too long!⁵⁶

Saturday 29. Rec'd pay \$312.50 from Comm. Paid out \$171, debts. Helped clean cistern. Pd \$1.00. Have an elliptic sewing machine, on trial to-day. This week, weather cold; not like last, with its spring days. Covenant meeting. Slim attendance (about 25) — Good choir meeting. I am still leader.

Sunday, March 1, 1868. Snow, wind, sleet & bluster. S. School. Wife & A. C. to church. Greek Bible cl. as usual. Day very raw, much colder towards night. Rev. Tilly here still. He leaves to-morrow I believe.

[No entry for Monday, March 2.]

Tuesday 3. Gough⁵⁷ lectured to-night on "Eloquence & Orators." As a literary performance it can be equalled by any one of several men in Iowa City, but his delivery is so attractive and his reputation so fine that he completely carries his audience away with him. The Lancashire coal digger was acted to perfection.

Wednesday 4. Attended meeting of Board of Curators of Hist. Soc.⁵⁸ Discussed the flag question at length. Matter postponed. Daily prayer meeting changed from 8 A.M. to 1 P.M. A good change. Meetings well attended, and conducted. Bought a new two ply carpet for \$26.

Thursday 5. The Senate are nearly ready to try Andy Johnson, and I trust they will remove the bold, bad man from office. Did not go to prayer meeting. Wife wanted me to stay and I consented.

Friday 6. Prof. Leonard returned in the night. Rev. James Black (D. D.) of Washington & Jefferson Coll. Penn. was elected Pres.⁵⁹ Prof. Eggerts

⁵⁶ The Zetagathean Society was one of the four literary societies on the University campus in 1868. The Zetagatheans were all "gentlemen." *Catalogue . . . 1866-67*, 51. The "Literary Entertainment" here mentioned was reported at length in the newspaper, with the criticism that "there was a great want of modulation of voice," and that "Most of the speakers drove through over all sentences . . . on the same key." *Iowa City Republican*, March 4, 1868.

⁵⁷ John B. Gough, a principal organizer of the Washington Society in the 1840's and an ardent prohibitionist. *Iowa City Republican*, March 11, 1868.

⁵⁸ Howell was a member of the Board of Curators of the State Historical Society of Iowa. See *Annals of Iowa* (first series), 6:67 (January, 1868).

⁵⁹ "The expansion of the University in the direction of professional instruction began during Dr. Black's presidency." Pickard, "Historical Sketch . . .," 40.

salary raised \$150 to \$1400. Am sorry that Prof. Leonard was not elected as Pres.

Saturday 7. Brought home a Willcox & Gibbs sewing mach. Like it better than either of the others. It is a beautiful worker, and like some men makes very little noise. Our preferences are for this machine. No rain to-day; but cloudy. Granger & Bailey at Wilton holding meetings. Good!

Sunday 8. Sermon by Rev. Bowman of N.Y. Rev. J. F. Childs presented the claims of the State Convention. He rec'd in cash and pledges \$88.00. Very good. Prof. A. N. C. & I pledged \$20 each, making nearly half of the whole amt. Bro. Childs & Currier dined with us, and stayed till nearly dark. Very fine weather. Cleared up yesterday.

Monday 9. Dr. Simms,⁶⁰ Physiognomist, commenced a course of lectures to-night. He drew the largest crowd I've ever seen in Metr. Hall.

Tuesday 10. This P.M. worked faithfully all afternoon in re-counting guns and accoutrements, which are to be shipped to Adj. G. [Nathaniel B.] Baker.⁶¹ Prof. Currier took wife to Simm's lecture.

Wednesday 11. Wonderful rain. Mr. S. M. Hewlett⁶² lectured at the Chapel to-night, but Dr. Simms, the weather, & indifference reduced his audience to about 50. The Irving Institute⁶³ lose some \$50 by the operation. Staid at home.

Thursday 12. Granger elected Pres. Y.M.C.A. last night, vice Bailey.⁶⁴ Went to prayer meeting, and after it, to Simm's lecture. He has some 200 very good pictures of different worthies. His lectures partake considerably of the gross and rude, but still are quite instructive. He examines character &c at \$1.50 per head.

⁶⁰ "DR. SIMMS had a tremendous rush to his lecture . . . on Physiognomy. The Hall was jammed to its utmost and many were unable to get inside. . . . His great display of paintings is worth many times his admission fee. He will remain several nights longer and instruct our people in the tell tale character of 'the human face divine,' a most interesting subject. Admission only ten cents." *Iowa City Republican*, March 11, 1868.

⁶¹ Nathaniel B. Baker, Adjutant General of Iowa. For biographical sketch, see A. A. Stuart, *Iowa Colonels and Regiments* . . . (Des Moines, 1865), 16-21.

⁶² S. M. Hewlett of New Jersey, who lectured on the subject "Our Great Yankee Nation." *Iowa City Republican*, March 11, 1868.

⁶³ The Irving Institute was one of the four University literary societies; like the Zetagathean, it too was "composed of gentlemen." The Erodolphian and Hesperian societies were the two formed by the women of the University. *Catalogue* . . . 1866-67, 51.

⁶⁴ The new officers of the local Y.M.C.A. were Granger W. Smith, president; S. D. Pryce, vice-president. *Iowa City Republican*, March 18, 1868.

Friday 13. Prof. Smith⁶⁵ helped me reduce the top of my big cotton-wood. He and wife spent an hour with us this evening, after wh[ich] we three went to the Simm's lecture. It was on the mental operations, nervous system &c. He has a new theory of electricity — phosphorus & electricity, as agents of thot. in the brain cells.

Saturday 14. Had Simms give me a chart. On looking it over at home I found several flat contradictions and some mis-statements. Ex. gr. in music on a scale from 1 to 7 he put me 3. Heard a highly finished lecture by E. P. Whipple the Boston reviewer, on "Loafing & Laboring." It was highly toned and worthy a large audience.⁶⁶ Had a short Choir meeting.

Sunday 15. No preaching to-day. I feel all used up. We expect Cory⁶⁷ here next Tuesday to conduct a musical Sund. Sch. Convention. Staid at home nearly all day. A walk in P.M. Weather quite warm. More rain in prospect. Wind East. Read considerably in Greek Testament.

Monday 16. This term draws to a close. Considerable rain to-day. In evening, a big storm. Sewed on our new Willcox & Gibbs, finishing a comfort. We like the machine very much. My Greek class now numbers 12 students. They are doing finely. Pease, Glass, P. E. Milliken, Hanna, are the best. The second named is stubborn, but a good fellow.

Tuesday 17. Cory came in the night. This P.M. at 3 o'clock we opened fire with our music, at the church. Had 45 in attendance, which is first-rate, considering that to-day is the most blustering, windy day we've had for a long time. It is cold and bad for any one to be out. I *organ-ized*. Miss Stowell being unable to be present. At home tonight.

Wednesday 18. Last day of recitations. Good sing and good attendance this P.M. The little ones are very fond of Cory thus early.

Thursday 19. Examinations commence to-day. We are growing more

⁶⁵ A. T. Smith, professor of "Piano-Forte," organ, and singing in the Preparatory department. *Catalogue* . . . 1866-67, 6.

⁶⁶ Editor Brainerd differed with Howell on the quality of this lecturer: "The lecture . . . was a disappointment to most who heard it. It was very pleasantly written essay, upon a very common theme, composed of very common thoughts, and expressed in a very common manner. There was nothing in it to pay for a man to come all the way from Boston to deliver to the Hawkeyes, at 85 dollars a night. . . . Mr. Whipple has much talent and learning . . . but he is a failure, for western audiences. He is far more at home in the shades of Harvard." *Iowa City Republican*, March 18, 1868.

⁶⁷ Carlton C. Cory, professor of mathematics in Central University, Pella; later, Superintendent of Pella Schools and Superintendent of the State Industrial School for Girls at Mitchellville, Iowa. Clarkson, *A Beautiful Life* . . . , 67.

rigid than heretofore in school matters. At prayer meeting to-night. Beta meeting after that. *I learn.*

Friday 20. Greek beginners examined. They sail'd thro' nicely. I still play the organ for the Convention. Am not at all pleased with my work. I send Term Reports to the parents of all the Prep. students. This is quite a tax.

Saturday 21. Three sessions of music to-day. The 3d was the choir. Cory & Currier to dinner with us yesterday. Weather quite cold this week. On Monday through the west, commencing at Ohio & going on to Kansas, South to Tenn. had a terrible storm — hail in many places, almost a hurricane in others. Here heavy wind & some hail.

Sunday 22. Grand time at Sunday Sch. 112 to-day. Cory is highly pleased with the result of his labors. To-morrow night we give a free concert to those that may attend. The school have made great improvement. I have played all the time. It is quite hard work. Wife to ch. to-day. All of us at 3 P.M. Sing. We then took a big stroll. Weather very warm to-day.

Monday 23. Ex[amined] my Anabasis class to-day. Sing at 3 P.M. Concert, free, at night. Had good attendance. House full & quiet. Pleasant time and Cory, Cur. & Roberts took tea with us. After sing we helped Cory off to depot, Dana & Prof. C. & I went with him. I sent some pictures and apples & nuts to the children. Mercury 80° in the shade this P.M.

Tuesday 24. Sent off nearly all the Term reports of the Prep. Department all but 1/2 doz. Worked vigorously & steadily. Weather cooler. Paid Cory \$20 last night. He has done a good work for us, and we all feel grateful. Another term's work is just done.

Wednesday, March 25. Installation of off. of Y.M.C.A. at M. E. ch. this P.M. Rain, cold and dreary the most of the day. Helped Prof. Currier send off all his (Coll.) reports to parents. He sends off all but Normals & Prep. Prof. Fellows takes the former. Interesting exer. to-night. Bailey's valedictory was good, as also was Granger's Inaugural.⁶⁸ Thin audience.

Thursday 26. Heavy, but brief, snowstorm about 7 A.M. Very large flakes. Snow all gone by 11. Worked hard putting down carpet in parlor. We have a beautiful carpet. Took out parlor stove and put it in sitting room. Its stove sent to Bixby for repairs. The Keystone smokes, but is a good

⁶⁸ Reference is to the installation of new officers of the Y.M.C.A. The retiring president was T. S. Bailey. *Iowa City Republican*, April 1, 1868.

stove nevertheless. The Laurel gives good satisfaction too. Expect the Olneys soon.

Friday 27. Am working on partition fence; going to make a solid fence 5 ft. high. John Cabbage is helping me a little in the work, he digging the holes. Have cut down the old cottonwood. The weather very warm & spring-like.

Saturday 28. Moved the big logs and brush into a pile. Hard work. Butter 40 cts. Ten penny nails 7c pr lb., fencing lumber $2\frac{3}{4}$ c, cedar posts 25c. 2x4 scantling $2\frac{1}{4}$ c, running measure. Am teaching Irving Glass & T. R. Cole in Greek, during vacation. They are just commencing and want to catch up with my class.

Sunday 29. Sermon by Prof. Fellows. He is a very plain, practical preacher, full of good sense and power. Very few Methodists in Iowa his equal. The M. E. folks are educating their ministers to a greater degree than formerly. Their system of sending out ministers works better than ours.

Monday 30. Hard at work. Health improving. Am just done my half of the fence. Looks quite respectable.

Tuesday 31. Weather winter like. Cold and disagreeable.

Wednesday, April 1, 1868. Still very cold. Freezes every night of late. Peter Matthews (Indian) & young Grover are here for school. Had B B reunion to-night at Snyder's. Good time though I felt unwell. Adjourned at 11.30.

Thursday 2. School opened finely to-day.⁶⁹ I am to have six new Grecians, making 18 in my class of beginners. The largest Greek class I ever saw. The new comers are: Irving Glass, T. R. Cole, A. B. Byram, Rowen, Saunderson & Peter Matthews. About 175 at chapel this A.M. Wife, babies & I heard the Thompson & Parkhurst troupe sing.⁷⁰ Excellent!

Friday 3. Have enrolled 118 in my term book, of whom 76 are Prep.

⁶⁹ This was the third term of the University calendar.

⁷⁰ "The Thompson & Parkhurst Troupe of vocalists, last Monday evening, gave our people one of the richest treats we ever heard. . . . We have not space to do them justice, but we must say that they are among the best singers we ever heard. Their selections were well assorted with mirth and pathos. They sang some choice Scotch, Swiss and German ballads, that were most beautiful. The echo song, by Mr. Thompson, was most wonderfully performed [*sic*]. The audience could not allow him to finish it, but drowned his voice in an out burst of applause. The comic singing, by Jno. Parkhurst was side splitting, while George Parkhurst sang most beautifully several touching pieces." *Iowa City Republican*, March 4, 1868. For a recent book on musical troupes in America, see Philip D. Jordan, *Singin' Yankees* (Minneapolis, 1946).

Had long faculty meeting. S. S. H. secretary. Caught cold. Went home just sick. Heated feet—took pain killer. Thompson & P. sing again to-night, & the Frank Lumbard⁷¹ troupe comes to-morrow night.

Saturday 4. Bot. lumber for partition up stairs. Will make it myself. Am very fond of working in wood. Choir meeting not very well attended. Jo. Roberts is worthless as an organist, because he does not attend $\frac{1}{2}$ the time & is nearly always late on Sundays.

Sunday 5. Wife & A. C. went to meeting. I attended S. S. & Greek class. Took A. C. out on a long stroll in P.M. Been very cold for a week. Frost & freeze every night. Vegetation at a standstill, if not retrograding.

Monday 6. Another Grecian, Mr. Merrell, making 19!! My kidneys affected. Commenced to use Buchu.⁷² Maria Smith of Downey came to-day, to work for her board & go to school. Expected Olneys to-morrow but rec'd a Dispatch to-day stating that baby was sick & they will not come till Saturday.

[No entries for April 7-10.]

Saturday 11. Went to the depot and found Mary & baby, when the train arrived. Warren does not come for a few days. He goes to Muskegon, Mich., and intends to settle there if he likes the place.

[No entries for April 12-18.]

Sunday 19. To-night, at the instance of Warren, I wrote bro. John⁷³ asking his advice about our going to Cal. We have the fever badly, and we ask John to telegraph if he thinks we ought to go.

Monday 20. The reason that I have the Cal. fever is that my health is very poor from over work in Iowa City. Often go to bed about 3 p.m. & stay there several hours. Have lost my energy. The Far West promises restoration.

[No entry for April 21.]

Wednesday 22. I dislike very much to go away from dear friends & relatives, but I am afraid I can't last long here. Must have rest & relaxation.

⁷¹ "Another Concert. — Frank Lumbard's Celebrated Concert Troupe will give one of their superior entertainments at Metropolitan Hall, Saturday evening, of this week. . . . Their troupe consists of six singers, male and female, one of them a wonderful little Miss of five years of age. . . ." *Iowa City Republican*, April 1, 1868.

⁷² Buchu is an herb used as a diuretic and diaphoretic.

⁷³ Professor Howell's brother, John Gilson Howell, Jr., who had preceded him in going to Healdsburg, California.

Would like to ask for a vacation of six months, but Currier advises me not to do it. I don't think it would be just right.

[No entries until May 7.]

Thursday, May 7, 1868. About 1½ inches water in cellar. Mr. Stowell just back from Ill. He moves away to Ill. next week.

Friday 8. Had a wire clothes line put up in yard. 95 feet at 3c pr foot. Have had immense amt. of rain this month & the last of April. Rep[ublican] State Convention in session yesterday. Platform adopted and electors for Pres. appt'd & delegates to National Convent. at Chicago, May 20, 1868.⁷⁴

[No entries until:]

Thursday 14. Rec'd a telegram to-day from John, dated Healdsburg May 13. It says. "Don't hesitate. All right for teacher & lawyer. Climate superb." That settles the question with me and I now positively decide to go. Will send the telegram to Olneys. Hope they may decide to go but duty is plain for me. So, off for California!

Friday 15. Put up a large poster announcing property for sale; another naming different household articles for sale.⁷⁵

Saturday 16. Some callers to look at property already. Am trying to sell to Jill. Williams. He has some notion of buying, but hesitates.

[No entries until:]

Wednesday 20. Rec'd on household goods \$6.70.

[No entries until:]

Wednesday 27. This A.M. ordered bills struck for Auction, to be holden at our house next Friday. Posted some 40 or 50. Have 75 in all, at a cost of \$2 for 50 and \$2.25 for 75.

Thursday 28. Big rain last night and to-day. Expect Olneys up here to-night, or to-morrow, to take wife home as soon as Saturday. *Tacked* up my bills. Hence many of them are *rained* off. Put up some more to-day. Have done well at private sale. Prof. Fellows takes the sofa at \$33 — cost \$38. Mr. Morse the Rocking chair & parlor table at \$16 + \$8.

Friday 29. Had auction to-day. Sold nearly everything we had left. Bid in the old two ply carpet. House & lot go to Anthony at \$1285,

⁷⁴ For a full account of the Republican State Convention, held to nominate 4 delegates at large and 12 district delegates (2 each from Iowa's 6 Congressional Districts) to the National Convention at Chicago, appears in the Des Moines *Iowa State Register*, May 13, 1868.

⁷⁵ Advertisements of the sale of the house and household effects were placed in the *Iowa City Republican* of May 20, 1868.

half cash & half time. If he pays all cash a reduction of 5% is made on the time payment.

Saturday 30. Settled up house matter. Sold my insurance for \$3. Rec'd in cash for the property \$1253 from Wm C. Anthony. Rec'd \$312.50 from College. Deposited in bank \$1680.00. Never had so much cash before in my life. We go to Wilcox's, wife to remain till Monday, I to board till school closes.

Sunday 31. Went to S. S. & meeting. Mr. Weston still preaches for us. He will probably go to Cal. in the fall. Dined with Prof. Currier at Hart's. Rush Emery & wife will be here this week from Germany. He has been there at school for some time. He may have a situation offered him in the University here. As my successor have heard mentioned Hall, Bush, Williams &c.

Monday, June 1, 1868, Was excused from the school to-day. Hired a team for \$4-1/2 and took wife to Richmond. Olney met us there at 3 O'clock. We chatted till 4, when I started back to the City. Home at 8-1/2 P.M. Church meeting to-night. My resignation as clerk accepted. Tremendous rain for miles on our trip this A.M. Wife has pluck. We started in the rain. Bless her courageous heart. The little boys looked cutely nestled up to their mother, in the drenching rain.

Tuesday 2. Went to old home. Packed a few more things in the large box. Fastened them up. Gave Mr. Wilcox boxes and many old traps.

Wednesday 3. Sent boxes to depot. Dined with Newton Hanna, at A. B. Lee's (must write the latter gentleman) The Hanna boys helped me strap iron my boxes at depot. Labeled them "San Francisco, via New York and Panama."

Thursday 4. Still rainy. Have had an immense amt. of rain, for the last month. Attended prayer meeting in P.M. The regret on the part of my friends that I leave is general, judging from their words. The students frequently express their sorrow to me.

Friday 5. Terrible rain storm this afternoon — much wind. Trees blown down.

Saturday 6. Dr. Dixon here to-day. He preaches to-morrow and lectures Monday night, on "Spurgeon." Had a first rate covenant meeting. Letters granted me and wife. Choir meeting well attended.

Sunday 7. Matt. 16.21,2,3. Dr. J. Dixon. Grand. P.M. Matt 14. 22-31 incl. North Ch. Over 150 at Sunday School.

Monday 8. Had a beautiful Bible presented to me by Miss Milliken on behalf of the Commencing Greek Class. She made a neat little speech, to wh. I responded as best I could in my excited state. The matter was entirely unexpected, and startled me very much. Six or eight students were present.

Tuesday June 9. Mr. Weston supped with me this P.M. and staid till 9 O'clock. He had a joke played on him by Dr. Dixon last night, and we continued the matter at supper. Blushes & confusion came. Yankee Robinson's show here 19th inst.⁷⁶ Original Baker family to sing here the 12th. George E. the "Lion Bass" will be worth hearing.⁷⁷

Wednesday 10. Had photograph taken of house, where Irving was born. Last Historical Soc. I attended to-night. Church sociable in the basement. Grand time. Large number out.

Thursday 11. Good & large prayer meeting. After the meeting had a general consultation about calling Dr. Dixon. Informal vote taken. No opposition to calling him. Informally, Bixby, Sperry & Mordoff apptd. a com. to see if we can raise \$1500 for Dr. D. Eight bro. pledged \$50 each, on the spot. Had teeth filled this P.M.

Friday 12. Ella Wilcox suspended to-day. Falsehoods. Heard "Baker" family sing to-night. George E, Bass, Jasper A., Baritone, Sophy M., Alto & John C., Tenor. The latter played on the melodeon. Had one instr. piece, 2 guitars & mel. 2 strings broke, but they played on. As a troupe they are greatly inferior to the Thompson & Parkhurst trio, but George's voice is like the belching of cannon, or the deep mouthed thunder. Not heavy on high notes. Goes down on Double C with power. Heaviest voice I ever heard.

Saturday 13. Four hours (8 to 12) with dentist. Six cavities filled. He uses what an old lady calls *amalgamation*. It is soft but soon hardens.

⁷⁶ Yankee Robinson's circus was advertised as a "Mass Meeting of all the Rare Specimens of Zoology from both Hemispheres." Attractions such as "Mounted Knights in real steel armor," a "Veiled Persian Beauty Riding her trained Dromedary," an "Egyptian Wallapuss," and a "Sea Cow" were promised in the column-long advertisement in the newspapers. Two performances were given in Iowa City, together with a parade "worth 100 miles of Travel," on June 19, 1868. *Iowa City Republican*, June 10, 1868.

⁷⁷ "The Bakers Are Coming. — The celebrated Baker Family of vocalists, who delighted us twenty years ago with their sweet harmony, will sing at Metropolitan Hall next Friday evening, June 12. This is the *best* family of singers we ever heard sing. John is a splendid tenor and George a most wonderful bass. The other members of the quartette were very superior. . . ." *Ibid.*, June 10, 1868.

Weather intensely warm. A Prof. Ebersole may be elected to fill my place in the College.⁷⁸ He was here yesterday looking around. Hull is trying hard to obtain the position.

[No entries until:]

Sunday June 21. My last Sunday in Iowa C. Granger preached. Dined with Ret, Anna & C. F. C[larkson] at the Pennsylvania House. At 4 P.M. we all went to the Chapel & heard Prof. Fellows lecture on "What is Truth." Took tea at Wilcox's. Prof. Cur. made one of the party.

Monday 22. Completed my school duties to-day. Went to the Re-union at chapel this ev'g. Staid till about 11 P.M. Anna & Ret went to the hotel to stop to-night. Father will be at Wash. tomorrow and I too.

Tuesday 23. A. F. Craven met me at Richmond at 1 P.M. Left Iowa C. on hack at 8. Went over to town at 7. Saw Anna & Ret & C. F. C., A. N. C., Prof. Leonard & others. Mr. Weston was at Wilcox's on my arrival there on the hack. Put aboard my trunk and was off for Wash. Farewell to Iowa City! . . .

⁷⁸ To succeed S. S. Howell, E. C. Ebersole of Western College was appointed as Principal of the Preparatory department. Iowa City *Republican* July 1, 1868.

SOURCE MATERIAL OF IOWA HISTORY

[The following "Early Recollections of Fort Dodge" appeared in the Fort Dodge *North West* in the issues of February 16, 23, March 2, June 8, and 22, 1871. The author, W. Oakley Ruggles, was an early resident of Fort Dodge, who had gone to New York and entered the brokerage business in that city, after the depression of 1857 had brought "a long period of business stagnation for the Western Country." At the time he wrote these reminiscient letters for the *North West* he had retired from active business because of ill health, and was spending his time in travel, study, and reading. This information on the author of this lively account of Fort Dodge was gleaned from a letter from Ruggles to Governor Cyrus C. Carpenter in 1872, a letter which is now in the Carpenter Papers at the State Historical Society of Iowa. — Editor.]

EARLY RECOLLECTIONS OF FORT DODGE

BY W. OAKLEY RUGGLES

Physical

Those fortunate few who saw the town site of Fort Dodge before any structures were built on the lawn, (but the old barracks), can remember one of the loveliest landscapes that ever delighted the eye. Whether seen from Maj. Williams' door, looking south "upon the grassy carpet of this plain" on which fed two noble elk and a pair of high shouldered buffalos, with the gleaming river stretching south and losing itself in the dense forests below; or, viewing it from the old flag-staff on the east brow of the prairie, sloping from the feet to the heavy wooded island in the river, the eye resting against the abrupt bluffs beyond, and softened by the undulating acres of Mr. Boott's farm, or, seen from Mr. Colburn's bluff-side looking down on the river and over the parade ground and barracks beyond, and farther on to the unbroken prairie and its unquiet ever waving green, it made a picture of unrivaled loveliness. The beholder was struck with its quiet unobtrusive beauty, the lines of the landscape were curved,

the river valley deep and crooked enough to delight the eye, the ravines here and there deepened the shadows as though touched in by the artists pencil, the woods dense, large stemmed and of such variety as gave many hues to the foliage. On the river bottom the grass grew rank and tall, while the bluffsides were fringed with trees and vines, and ragged with jutting rocks. Frequent springs trickled out from the rock seams to cool thirsty lips, and in the deep shade of Soldier creek valley was one bountiful enough to supply the largest demand. On this wondrous spot and all around it, up and down the river, nature penciled its loveliest lines with most delicate touches. . . . We had no power with the pencil, but I believe there have been sketches made of the town site of Fort Dodge in an early day. If I mistake not Maj. Williams' sketch-book contains some. [See the cover picture of this issue of the JOURNAL for one of these sketches.]

Historical

Fort Clark was designated a military post in August, 1850. Soon after it was named Fort Dodge in honor of Senator [Henry] Dodge of Wisconsin. The officers ordered to establish the post, after many days reconnoissance up and down the river, selected the site now occupied; for its natural beauty, scenery, springs, and healthfulness.

Upon ratification of the Treaty purchasing the Minnesota Lands from the Indians, the garrison of Fort Dodge in 1853 was ordered to the Minnesota river and built Fort Ridgely.

The Fort Dodge buildings (18 log barracks) and the ground from the river up and east to the brow of the prairie, became the property by pre-emption and purchase of Maj. Wm. Williams. It was laid out into streets and lots.

The U. S. Government located a district Land Office there and appointed officers in the session of 1854 and 1855: Wm. H. Merritt, Register, Gen. Van Antwerp, Receiver.

The county of Webster at that time included Hamilton, Humboldt and the present Webster county, with Wright, Kossuth, Palo Alto and all north attached to it for judicial purposes.—But to go back a little. There were a few settlers within the limits of Webster county when the troops established Fort Dodge. The earliest settlers came to occupy farms in 1848-49 and 50 and were I. Bell, Francis McGuire, L. Merricle, J.

Mericle [*sic*], D. B. Spaulding and Wm. Miller. Maj. Wm. Williams and his son James B. Williams came with the troops and remained after their departure. Among those who came in immediately after the departure of the troops were Fred. Booth [Boott], E. H. Albee, Geo. H. Rogers, Geo. B. Sherman, Cha's Bergk and Ed. McKnight. Early in the spring of 1855 came Albert Morrison, E. Elliott Colburn, John F. Duncombe, W. O. Ruggles, Tom Sargent, W. P. Pollock, John Garaghty, Dr. S. B. Olney, Dr. E. H. Arnold, D. H. Prindle, Cyrus C. Carpenter, Q. A. Gilmore, W. H. Plumb, A. M. Dawley, Hez. Beecher, Sewall Gower, Dr. L. L. Pease, C. H. Vincent, A. McBane and Sam'l Rees. Following these there came a stream too numerous to mention but who made up the list of pioneers that came in the year 1855.

Among the earliest co-operative acts was the formation of a "claim club" in the early spring of 1855 — Mr. E. H. Albee president of the club. Each person coming in and taking a claim became a member of the club. Homer was then the county seat. Immigration came rapidly to Fort Dodge and to the country up and down the Des Moines and up the Lizard river. A stream of people poured in, and among others "claim jumpers," or those who were disposed to make trouble and take claims occupied by others.

At this time Fort Dodge had only a weekly mail. Every Saturday — mail day — was a holiday. The "boys" came in from their claims, interchanged courtesies, made acquaintances, pitched quoits, and twenty dollar gold coins were frequently used for pitching pieces. On arrival of the mail, Wm. Williams, P. M., would call out the letters and toss them over the counter to the lucky fellows who drew prizes. — The mail was opened in James B. Williams' store in the old storehouse. — Sunday was spent in writing letters and exploring the vicinity of the town. As yet there were no religious services held.

Up to the fall of 1855 the families of Maj. Williams, E. H. Albee, W. H. Plumb and Wm. Miller furnished the only female society of the town. Five hundred men and less than a dozen women. Miss Mollie Williams had the honor of being the only young lady in town in the summer of 1855. . . .

I will now give a little unwritten history. In July 1855 a meeting was held in Fort Dodge to name delegates to a county convention to be held at Homer. Maj. Williams was chairman. After the delegates were chosen, and after some interchange of sentiment, Mr. Charles Bergk was called on

for a speech. Charley's knowledge of English sixteen years ago was somewhat crude, and he often got his sentences inverted; but his culture, native good sense, and *bon hommie* made him a great favorite with all. He said:

GENTLEMANS: You have done de bleasure to call ond me of a speech and I dank you. As a represenditf vond Humboldt do dis konvendsun I vas broud to say dat I vas a Demokrat from de fud. I hab my kundry lefd mit dat brinciples dat I kan aldways vas a Demokrat, as dat is de bardy of vreedom mit speech, vreedom mit drade and vreedom mit everdink. I vas aldogeder a subborder of de Presidend Frankdline Pierse, and vas dankful do de bardy dat I vas do be de Bost Master von mine place. Gendlemans, dere is someding yat understand me I kand in dis kundry; and dat dem knownodings [Know-Nothings, an anti-foreigner political party] is. How shall a man kum von all de world ober, und here mit his babers oud, he kand bin more as a zitisend, not no more sure of his hold, vy he shall den kumb? Vat for would dis Ford Dodge in dat beaudiful Iowa Stade du day bin mitout dem imigashun, und mitout dem foren zitisends? So? Aldogeder a mistage, mit insjustis I dink, by dem knownodings is very much made, vatever.

Charley sat down amid uproars of applause. He had an intelligent honest face, and the manners of a gentleman and I doubt not has run an honorable career.

The county convention assembled at Homer, July 28th, 1855. The object of the convention was to select county officers to be supported by the people of Webster county. The delegates met at the school house at 1 p.m.

"On motion of Maj. Williams, Judge W. M. Pierce of Homer was called to the chair, and W. O. Ruggles of Fort Dodge made secretary.

Maj. Williams made an appeal for prompt, energetic and united action in securing the rights belonging to citizens of the whole country, and severely denounced the Know Nothing organization. . . .

Dr. Arnold in a brief speech wished to see harmony among the people of the county, a cordial support of the ticket about to be nominated, and deprecated the expenditure of money in building a court house until the people of the whole county could be heard by vote on that question; and with the great influx of people it better be deferred, as by so doing the tax would be less. He thought Dr. Pease would decline the nomination of Judge. The nomination was withdrawn.

Mr. Johns called upon Mr. Maxwell for an expression of his views as to the propriety of building public buildings without a vote of the people.

Mr. Maxwell said he wished to carry out the will of the people in regard to the matter, and was opposed to any uncalled for expense without the proper action of the people.

Maj. Williams asked Mr. Maxwell if he was a Know Nothing. Mr. Maxwell replied 'that he belonged to no society but the Presbyterian church.[']

Mr. Johns remarked it was unnecessary to be too hard on the Know Nothings, as they were tumbling down without assistance.

The following ticket was finally adopted: John D. Maxwell, County Judge; Sewall Gower, Prosecuting Attorney; L. D. C. McGort, District Clerk; E. H. West, Sheriff; Benj. McPheters, Recorder and Treasurer; Cyrus C. Carpenter, County Surveyor; Norman L. Osborne, Coroner.

Resolutions was passed to heartily support the ticket. Committees were appointed to write up the ballots to be voted, and the president and secretary of the convention with Walter C. Wilson were chosen a committee to call future meetings. Adjourned."

Considerable anxiety was felt at Ft. Dodge lest the move on foot at Homer to build county buildings at the latter place by action of the county officers should be persisted in, and thus create an unnecessary tax and fix the county seat at Homer. The rapid growth of Fort Dodge threatened a removal of the county seat unless some such steps forestalled the action which a preponderance of population would soon encourage Fort Dodge to take. This county convention was the first in which Fort Dodge took an active part.

August 28th 1855 a four horse coach came through from Dubuque with the mails, and was greeted with loud huzzas. From that date we had tri-weekly mail service. We were having a weekly mail from Fort Des Moines.

The first church organization in Ft. Dodge was the Episcopal; a somewhat remarkable fact, for that church communion cannot be called a pioneer or missionary body. In August 1855 the Rev. Dr. E. W. Peet of Fort Des Moines was invited to come and hold services at Fort Dodge. The services were held in the upper story of the Wahkonsa House, it having been recently built on the original barrack, and was not yet "staked off" into rooms. It furnished a good hall for the meeting. Morning and afternoon

services were held, with a general attendance of the citizens. After services a church organization was formed. The parish was called St. Marks after old St. Marks in N. Y., and a vestry and wardens elected. The Roman Catholic and Presbyterian churches were soon after organized. I believe before this there had been there an itinerant Methodist clergyman in 1854 but no church organized. I think Father Preston was the first priest of the Catholic church. He was a gentleman universally esteemed for his suavity, learning, and energy in his work. The first church services were held in John Haire's house. The Rev. Mr. Dodder was the first pastor of the Presbyterian society, a young and earnest preacher, whose efforts in building a church were ably seconded by Sam'l Rees and others of that denomination. The first rector of the Episcopal church was the Rev. T. B. Fairchild, whose culture and eloquence endeared him to citizens of all denominations, and whose sermons and publications attracted the attention of the community. The Catholics were the first to build a church, the Presbyterians next.

The first railroad meeting held in Fort Dodge was in the Wakhonsa barroom the evening of October 23d 1855. Col. Mix of Dubuque in the interest of the "Dubuque & Pacific R. R. Co." addressed the meeting. Speeches were made by Messrs. Carpenter, Garaghty, Duncombe and Lucas. Meeting enthusiastic and room crowded.

The first death, Mr. Orr, occurred on Sept. 21st, 1855. He was a quiet, industrious young man; died of fever. We had no clergyman nearer than Ft. Des Moines, and Gen. Van Antwerp read the Episcopal burial service at the grave.

The Government Land Office opened for land entries for the first time at Ft. Dodge on November 5th 1855. There were a thousand people there impatiently waiting to get land. The two months previous to the opening, private offices had been hastily built, and the old barracks on Williams street were fronted by a military row on the opposite side of the street. Every house and office was full of people, and many encampments on the prairie south of Williams street. Such a wild, crazy, devil-may-care lot of bipeds never gathered on similar business.

It is not the intention of the writer of these "Recollections" to embellish with ornate style the facts he has to relate, but to give a simple story of events as they occurred from the spring of 1855 to the fall of 1856, when the *Sentinel* newspaper began life, and from which the history of Fort

Dodge can be continued. It is probable other gentlemen kept a journal from which a more minute relation of events can be gathered. The early history of any community or locality is interesting so far as it tells of the vicissitudes and sufferings of the pioneers, the growth and changes of the town or country, and the character of the seasons.

The spring and summer seasons of 1855 at Fort Dodge were delightful. The fall was wet. Early frosts withered the grass, and the last of the season was remarkable for the general burning of the prairies, east and west from the Boone river to the Big Sioux. The heavens were brilliant at night, the atmosphere warm and filled with smoke for weeks. It was a grand sight, and one that a few years hence will be impossible on the same territory.

The winter of 1855-6 will be ever memorable (to me a mild term) as the *cold winter*. Snow fell November 22d and continued all winter, until the ice ran out at the spring flood of the river. The snow averaged two feet on the prairies, with a crust on it so thick and strong at times that horses and loaded teams traveled on the crust as on ice. Through the most of December the mercury was ten degrees below zero. . . . Those were pinching cold days, and with one in a bed in those old barracks on a shuck mattress were awful crisp. About the 12th of January the cold "let up" a little; just enough to thaw the wrinkles out. January 26th the mercury was 14 degrees below zero; March 10th, 18 below. April 1st had a thunder shower. The ice ran out of the river April 4th.

Mr. Day, a young man, perished on the prairie just east of and in sight of town, in the great storm on Saturday night December 8th, 1855. Four persons were found frozen to death within that week on the roads out of Fort Dodge. Cyrus C. Carpenter went to Sioux City in this storm and great anxiety was felt for his safety.

The air all that winter was full of frost and the phenomenon of a mock sun, and sometimes two "sun dogs" were common in the mornings of that very cold winter. Such glorious natural exhibitions are never seen on the sea coast. The winter of 1856-7 was not far behind that of 1855-6 in intensity of cold. That of 1857-8 was moderate and comfortable.

In November 1855 Mr. E. Elliott Colburn began to mine coal on his pre-emption over the river. A. M. Dawley and Sherman & Morrison opened stores, dry goods and groceries, in the fall of 1855. Maj. Williams and

James had been trading with the Indians and early settlers since the abandonment of the fort by the troops. The first new building was built by Chandler & Gilmore, a balloon frame, opposite James Williams' store. Mr. Orr was building at the same time the stone office opposite E. H. Albee's, but after his death it was finished and occupied by Beecher & Gower. A grout house adjoining Chandler & Gilmore's was built for Dan. C. Corbin; Albert Morrison was the chief architect. The first dwelling houses were Tho's Sargent's, C. H. Vincent's, N. B. Morrison's and John Garaghty's. Mr. Garaghty's was a log house opposite the old Land Office, and was the scene of more social merriment than any other in town during the winter of 1855-6. The mails during that winter were very irregular; sometimes we were weeks without a mail.

November 13th 1855 a load of apples came from Missouri. Mr. Duncombe and the writer paid two dollars for a half bushel. The first lawyers in town were John F. Duncombe, John Garaghty, Sewell [sic] Gower, Hez. Beecher and C. B. Richards. The first physicians were S. B. Olney, Prof. E. A. Arnold, W. L. Nicholson, J. A. Blanchard and C. R. Bissell.

The first stove merchants and tin workers were A. J. Humphreys and Prusia & Klinedob. The first livery-stable was kept by M. S. Wood. The first saw-mill, owned by Mr. Schoepp, was a ten horse power engine and circular saw, located at the ferry landing east side, above the mouth of the Lizard. Mr. Hinton, in the fall of '55 put a pole dam across the river and built a saw-mill, one-half mile above the town. During the fall and winter of '55-6 Mr. Tod built his steam saw-mill south of the town.

In June 1855, Messrs Sargent, Pollock, Ruggles and Allen, reopened the Soldiers stone quarry, on Soldier creek, from which Mr. Sargent built the cellar walls of his house. Mr. Pollock and himself laying up the walls. There were no masons yet in town. Mr. E. H. Allen "handed" the stone to Sargents house and to Ruggles & Allens office lot.

July 5th, 1855, Albert Morrison and W. O. Ruggles leased the soldier quarry to burn lime. Supplied the demand for lime, outside of our own wants in building, at fifty cents per bushel — slacked at that. September 21st, D. W. Prindle, purchased of them the quarry lease and lime kilns.

About that date 25 or 30 offices and other buildings were in the course of construction, to be in readiness for the opening of the Land Office.

James R. Strow, John D. Strow, and Egbert Bagg came to Fort Dodge about Sept. 1st, 1855, Gen. V. P. Van Antwerp, Receiver of the Land

Office, came Sept. 16th, his first visit to the town. Mr. W. H. Merritt the Register had preceded him. Robbins Safford & Co., issued the first lithograph map of Fort Dodge land district, Ruggles and Bagg the next one. The first bridal party that came to town was Tom Steele and bride, they came Oct. 15th, '55, to Mr. Millers for quarters being full, Mr. Whicher gave up his bed in the hall to them, and shared mine. . . .

April 10th, 1856, news came to the town that Major Williams' claim across the river was "jumped," a reconnoissance made by Wm. Koone verified the story. April 11th, Mr. E. H. Albee, President of the claim club called a meeting of the club, which was answered by a full attendance of the members. A committee, Messrs. Garaghty, Colburn and Robbins was appointed to wait on the intruders to remonstrate with and warn them off. Saturday April 12th, committee reported to the club that the "jumpers" were determined to hold the claim, but would meet Major Williams at Fort Dodge on Monday morning. — April 14th, the club decided Major Williams claim to be outside of the jurisdiction of the club, but that of James B. Williams was good and valid. Saturday, April 19th, the claim club was again called together, and by a vote resolved to go in a body on Monday to set off J. H. B — from James B. Williams claim, and ordered to rendezvous at Mr. Colburns on west side of the river. April 21st, was a bright morning, the club assembled as ordered near Mr. Colburns house. Sixty persons answered to roll call, and after arranging the preliminaries, the party under the command of E. E. Colburn marched across the prairie to Maj. W's claim and found Mr. M. S — one of the men who had jumped the claim of James Williams. After the committee appointed to confer with him reported his decision to hold the claim at all hazards, he was conducted to Mr. B — ys shanty which he had built on James' claim. Mr. B. insisted upon retaining possession of the quarter section. The club demolished the shanty and removed his effects and furniture on to section 19. — Then after urging upon both to desist from their purposes, and with no success, a party was sent to town for tar and feathers, which coming, they were stripped and it was applied to S — without changing his will; finally, a few lashes brought him to terms, and a promise to leave the country. Tar and feathers were applied to B — and he promised to leave. I will not attempt to defend the action of the club, but simply give the facts as an episode in the history of the town.

The western Indians are fond of hanging about the military forts and

posts, particularly during the winter, when they carry on a small traffic in ammunition, beads, blankets, calico, tobacco, coffee, and whisky, for which they trade their furs.

When the troops vacated Ft. Dodge in the year 1853 the Indians continued their visits to Major Williams' store through the year 1854, and during the winter of 1854-5. With the rapid increase of population at the fort in the spring of 1855 they became very shy, and their encampments were not seen below the forks of the river.

After the Spirit Lake massacre in the spring of 1857 they left the Des Moines valley and went on to the reservations in western Minnesota. Ti-Tonka-ti-Macha was the chief of the band, and I have seen at the forks as many as thirty, including warriors, squaws, and children, in encampment. His band seemed to live apart from the great body of the Sioux tribe to which they belonged. Ti Tonka was a splendid specimen of manhood. Tall, finely proportioned, straight, with dignified, even haughty bearing. I recollect on a visit at the forks of the river in the summer of 1856 he bade me good-bye, and drawing his blanket around him strode away like a kingly warrior. His whole demeanor impressed me strongly.

Wahkonsa, the young warrior who used to visit the fort before the spring of 1855, I did not see. But those who knew him spoke of him as a noble, intelligent and handsome boy, and to whom they became much attached. — Wahkonsa township and the old hotel were named after him.

The first Indian scare at the Fort was on July 19th 1856. Some settlers at the head of the Lizard became alarmed and came pell-mell to the town, when there was soon a party of 30 organized to go to the scene of trouble. The fright proved to be senseless, the war party returned on the 21st, and the Indians continued peaceable until the spring of 1857. . . .

On Monday October 6th 1856 Judge McFarland held the first term of the District Court at Fort Dodge. It was held in the lower room of the brick school house, the building having been fully enclosed, but no interior work done. Judge C. J. McFarland was a perfect type of the western border judge. He was tall, strongly built, with black hair and long heavy beard, and a voice full, deep and not unpleasant; had altogether a commanding appearance, was eminently social, a Kentuckian by birth, but a long residence on the border had given him a careless, rough, off hand manner of address, and the forms and usages which prevail in our eastern courts were wanting in his court. He was esteemed a good lawyer,

and his decisions were mainly just. His physical endurance was great, as it needed to be to undergo the fatigue of holding court in a district covering many counties of the north and west part of the State. He was a great sportsman, an excellent shot, and could bag more grouse in a day than any man on the river. If he had some vices they were those incident to early and long border life, and to which all in like circumstances were more or less addicted. His heart was large and in the right place.

The holding of this session of court was one of the epochs in the history of the town. The first was the location of the Land Office; then we attained a tri-weekly mail, through persistent importuning of the post office department; the removal of the county seat followed a good fight, and now we were to hear the sheriff cry "Oyez, oyez" for the first time right in the heart of our game and plucky little town. But that first call of court will be remembered by the "boys of the bar" as a ludicrous joke. Maj. Williams (the central figure of our society,) the Government Land Officers and other gentlemen, were entertaining the judge in a social manner at the Wahkonsa; the occasion was a joyous one, and all parties hilarious; wine flowed, stories were told, and boisterous laughter from the Wahkonsa reached the court room. The "learned counsel" and their clients had long assembled and waited impatiently the appearance of the judge. Finally the bar comprehending the judicial status, and bent upon having their share of fun upon the occasion, and the time for call of court having long passed, solemnly gathered themselves around the attorneys' table, called the sheriff to them, and ordered him to call the court. The sheriff graced his position for the first time, and acknowledged his ignorance of the "how to do it," but after being told by the learned gentlemen, he went to the door, and with stentorian voice that sent his words clear down to Soldier creek bottom, he cried, "C. J. McFarland, C. J. McFarland, C. J. McFarland! hear ye, hear ye, hear ye! you are commanded to open court immediately and govern yourself accordingly." The sheriff out of wind, returned to the bar to find them in paroxysms of laughter. The worthy farmer was not clear he had not been imposed upon. He had little time to cogitate over it however, for his voice brought the judge and his party to the street, when comprehending the situation the judge thereupon took his deer skin, which he invariably carried for a seat cushion, and with his friends walked into the court room. The judge putting his deer skin on a splint bottomed

chair, seated himself, stroked his long black beard, looked grave, and ordered the sheriff to call court.—The sheriff stood stock still in amazement; he looked at the learned gentlemen, and then at the court, and the court looked at the sheriff; the counselors swelled with suppressed laughter, while the judge directed the clerk of the court to instruct the sheriff. The clerk reddened, stammered and tottered on his legs — he was as verdant as the sheriff. The judge seeing the joke, rising said, “Mr. Sheriff, follow me;” and going to the door taught the sheriff the proper call; and the “Oyez, oyez, oyez,” was given in due form; whereupon the judge and sheriff indulged in a private smile and congratulation under the staircase, and thereupon returned, the judge to his seat, and the sheriff to his position, to threaten the bar with his menacing fist. The court was organized, jurors sworn in, and some progress made that afternoon.—The next day business proceeded smoothly. In the evening (7th) there was a political meeting held at the court-room—Democratic. The Judge, Col. Wood, and the aspiring members of the bar “spoke their pieces” and uncorked a good deal of pent up buncombe. From the meeting all went to the hotel, where political feeling was laid aside and social union promoted in real western style. The judge and officers of the court, grand jurors, learned counsel, physicians (our clergy were out of town,) clients, strangers, and citizens generally, held a merry festival on the occasion; daybreak came and no thought of sleep; the supply of spirits held out, and human endurance was on trial. All day of the 8th the carnival prevailed; shouts, laughter, speeches, jokes practical and coarse, with an occasional scintillation of wit consumed the day, but nightfall closed the scene, and “hushed in grim repose” the revellers went early to sleep. No session of court was called on the 8th and the records are silent as to the cause.

On the next day, October 9th, the grand jury found indictments against Maj. Wm. Williams, John F. Duncombe, E. Elliott Colburn and W. O. Ruggles for leading a riot April 21st 1856, said riot being the forcible ejection of Messrs. S. and B. from James B. Williams’ claim. Bail was given and the trial was set down for the 11th of November 1856, at Eldora, Hardin county. We will skip the intervening time and go to Eldora. We found it difficult to get witnesses and friends to accompany us; as is often the case the leaders were left by the followers to take care of themselves. But some men are born true to friends. On Nov. 9th

our party, consisting of C. Hazard Vincent, Tho's Sargent, N. B. Morrison, John Garaghty, J. D. Burkholder, E. H. Albee, J. B. Williams, Daniel O'Keson, Wm. M. Koons and Messrs. Cheney, Byers and Mason started with the defendants for Eldora. We reached Wheeler's grove or Skunk river that evening. All were disposed to make a frolic of the affair and no one was allowed to sleep much that night. We arrived at Eldora at 1 p.m. of the 10th and made our head-quarters at the Eastern House. About 5 p.m. Judge McFarland arrived. The opposing party took lodgings at the Eldora House. Col. Wood, who acted as private prosecutor, (always an offensive position,) took lodgings at our camp. The judge named two o'clock of the 11th as the hour for trial. In the meantime our party were not idle. "All means are fair in war," and a competent committee was appointed "to labor with Col. Wood," to the justification of our cause and the discomfiture of the enemy. Pecuniary inducements were not thought of, but social convivialities are "a means to an end" in our advanced civilization, and our committee were veterans in the arts and diplomacy of social intercourse. Mr. Huff the accomplished District Attorney of Hardin county came on the morning of the 11th to perform his official duties. The trial came on at three o'clock. There was a mellow feeling all round, the Col. somewhat obfuscated, did not see the law or catch the salient points quite as sharply as usual, but then the courtesies of good society do not permit one to partake of another's wine and afterwards remark severely upon that other's shortcomings, even if his labial organs had free utterance. The Colonel served his clients well as he could, and the case was given to the jury at 8 p.m. — The jury were out all night. In the morning we learned there was a Quaker on the jury which of itself prevented an acquittal. One strong man frequently moulds the opinions of eleven associates as did this Quaker, and after breakfast a verdict of guilty was bro't in, a nominal fine imposed, and our party with the judge started for Fort Dodge, where we arrived on the 13th and were received with acclamations.

Social

Seldom if ever has there gathered the nucleus of a city — a colony like that which began the life and history of Fort Dodge. The individuals composing this pioneer community, though bent on personal prosperity, and coming from every portion of the Union, bore the impress of gentlemen in culture,

habits, and address. Here was a departure from the general rule, that the unlettered precede, break and mellow the soil, hew down the forest and build, for the cultured who may come after to mould society, to polish and adorn that which was before rude, earnest and strong. The distinctive character of this exceptional people became known far and wide, and their numbers grew rapidly by the attraction of like material, of men and women who desired the benefits of advanced society in new regions and new homes. This indelibly stamped the character of the population of Fort Dodge and it will never be changed. The pioneers came in the spring of 1855 — men fresh from college, from law and medical schools and from established practice, from the civil engineer's field, from the counting rooms and marts of the sea coast, from the hillsides of New England and the broad farms and thriving towns of the Ohio valley, to build homes and fortunes on the most beautiful spot in all Iowa.

That memorable first season of masculine loneliness was spent in building offices and houses, in making surveys of the country and drawing maps, in camping parties to the lakes and up the river, and Saturdays — mail day — was given up to athletic sports, hunting, fishing, wrestling, and pitching quoits. Many will remember building claim cabins and the solitary life in them, of interchanging visits, and the advent of the claim jumpers. Hospitality prevailed everywhere, welcome was honestly spoken and freely given.

Then too, the first winter was one of rollicking jollity. Some of the gentlemen had brought on their families, among whom were a good number of young married people, together with about a dozen young ladies, enough to tone down our society, make life more sociable and place a desirable restraint on the wild doings of border existence, but not enough to go around; the young men outnumbering them ten to one. — This disparity in numbers was often the occasion of laughable and friendly strife for the favors and smiles of the fair ladies, and they enjoyed the high carnival they held in the turbulent hearts of their admiring companions and suitors. Debates, reading of essays, singing clubs, dancing and sleighing parties and card circles furnished a variety of amusements and all was done in the few small log and one and two apartment houses then built. The accommodations were cramped but the enjoyments hearty and unceasing. If all did not participate in the debates, all attended. Cyrus C. Carpenter and Sam Robbins were stars in the forensic art. Dr. S. B. Olney's office was the

head-quarters of the "Glee Club" which consisted of S. B. Olney, Fred Boott, A. Miller, Hez Beecher and A. J. Humphrey. The "Instrumental Club," composed of W. P. Pollock, Albert Morrison, C. H. Allen and A. J. Humphrey, performed respectively on violin, bass-viol, flute and guitar and made themselves useful and agreeable whenever we could get that artistic body together. There were several euchre and whist coteries. One crystalized into a permanent club and has a history of its own — it met at the office of Albert Morrison — consisting of himself, Maj. Williams, Dr. Olney and the writer. — Wilson and McBane's office was a favorite resort for any who were inclined to fall in and take a smile or smoke and a hand at euchre.

At the U. S. Receiver's office, Gen. V. P. [Van] Antwerp, Thos. Sargent, John Garaghty and John F. Duncombe, four good haters in the Democratic party, occasionally met to exchange sentiments and uncork champagne.

Mrs. Maj. Williams received her friends once a week, entertaining them with music and singing, which together with her charming vivacity and grace of manner made her parlor the object of entree with all the gentlemen. Those receptions usually ended with a dance at the close of the evening, and I need not say that Miss Mollie Williams, though quite young, was one of the great attractions at the receptions. Miss Vincent and the Misses Garaghty gave frequent euchre parties, and the gentlemen were not at all diffident about going there any evening for social entertainment, the ladies being favorites with the young men.

The fall season of festivities — 1855 — opened Sunday, Oct. 21st — we had no church services yet — by the "Glee Club" giving an entertainment at W. P. Pollock's rooms, at which were present Messrs. Boott, Olney, Allen, Miller, Beecher, Smith, Sherman, Morrison, Burkholder, Robbins, McBane, Ruggles, Duncombe and Dr. Arnold.

Oct. 25th James B. Williams gave an oyster party; oysters ordered by express, came from the river on the stage — were far from home, but were voted "all right" and eaten with a fierce relish. The persons present were Maj. Williams, Drs. Olney and Arnold, Messrs. Pollock, Rees, Corbin, Beecher, Garaghty, Morrison, Boott, Bagg, McBane, Duncombe, Humphrey, Sherman, Wood and Ruggles.

These and many others I will not enumerate, were aptly called "stag" parties and produced loud remonstrance from the ladies, which brought about the first general assembly of all the ladies and gentlemen of Ft.

Dodge at the Wahkonsa House on the evening of Nov. 29th 1855, for a dance and oyster supper. The music was amateur, kindly furnished by Maj. Williams and Messrs. Pollock and Humphrey.

The entertainment was by Mr. Schaffner, proprietor of the hotel. The young ladies who graced the occasion were the Misses Colburn, the Misses Garaghty, the Misses Schaffner, Miss Em Vincent, Miss Mollie Williams, Miss Nellie Curtis and Miss Brown, together with most of the married ladies; and add all the gentlemen of our young town. There were several couples over from Newcastle (Webster City) and I believe our friends Chas. Bergk of Dakota and James P. White from up the Lizard were present. The ladies did their "level best" in dress, and the occasion was a decided success and frequently repeated.

Dancing, surprise and card parties, with candy pulling and sleigh rides followed in rapid succession through the winter. New Year's day 1856 the ladies received calls in the good old style, and the young ladies announced a leap-year sleigh ride to come off soon, which put the whole masculine gender upon the "anxious seat" in prayerful if not hopeful expectation of an invitation. Bets were freely offered and taken on individual success, and every smile, look or trifling indication thrown out by the fair ones, closely watched and treasured as a promise of joy. In good time the little billets came. Those who drew prizes enjoyed the fun with stormy hurrahs over their crest-fallen friends. Those who did not bask in the sunshine solaced themselves with a dreaming smoke, or an enlivening toast to "The girl I left behind me." It would be invidious to name the happy fellows who handed the young ladies into Mr. Albee's sleigh box well filled with hay and robes that night and drove down the river on the ice six miles to Mr. Mahoney's where we were welcomed in honest old fashioned style. Mr. Mahoney lived in a hewn log house having two rooms and an up-stairs. We found a blazing fire in a capacious fireplace, everything had an air of neatness and the family looked happy. We took along oysters, sardines, and confections, while Madam added a nicely boiled ham and coffee and other fixings so invitingly prepared, that with our brisk ride in the crisp air, we ate with a keen relish, and afterwards danced with a zest and enjoyment unknown to the ennuied frequenters of fashionable watering places. About one o'clock we jumped into the sleigh and were driven home at a spanking gait, the horses' shoes crunching the ice to the time of our songs.

In a community where culture was so general, attainments were not conspicuous, but characteristics were apparent. Fred Boott was acknowledged the most polite man, at least Mrs. Williams accorded him that position, and no one of us appealed from it. Sam Robbins was the wit and best impromptu speaker. W. P. Pollock was the musician of finest taste. Cy Carpenter was called "Honest Cy." Energetic John F. Duncombe, "Go-ahead John." Egbert Bagg best understood fencing. E. E. Colburn most skillful in the art of self defense, and in athletic vigor divided the honor with Thos. Sargent. Sam Rees was "a square man" and called "Umpire Sam" until he became judge and the boys adopted the more dignified title. John Garaghty was the poet and counselor. Albert Morrison was the most genial man, and the best shot, at least with no little skill I never could beat him.

"Which is why I remark
And my language is plain,
That for ways that are dark
And for tricks that are vain,
The rifle practice of Albert is peculiar —
Which the same I am free to maintain."

HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

State Historical Society of Iowa

The Society has distributed to members during the last two months several valuable publications. A book — *Iowa Agriculture: An Historical Survey*, by Earle D. Ross of Iowa State College at Ames — will prove a distinct contribution to agricultural history. The format and binding of the book were planned by Carroll Coleman, Curator of the Society and expert typographer of the School of Journalism of the State University of Iowa. *The Legislation of the Fifty-third General Assembly of Iowa*, by Jacob A. Swisher, retired research associate of the Society, and Russell M. Ross, of the political science department of the State University, is a 70-page booklet on the legislation passed by the Iowa General Assembly in 1949. *Some Information* is a small booklet giving the basic facts on the Society, listing its various publications, and giving the Articles of Incorporation and the By-Laws of the Society.

The copy of *Galland's Iowa Emigrant* — a reprint of the original 1840 edition — which was distributed to members of the Society in 1950 has been chosen by the American Institute of Graphic Arts as one of the "Fifty Books of the Year" — books chosen for their typographical excellence. The book was set by hand by Carroll Coleman, Curator of the Society and nationally-known typographer of the State University of Iowa. This is the sixth book designed by Mr. Coleman which has won a place in this yearly selection.

Mrs. J. W. Maguire of Dayton, Ohio, through the instigation of Frederic C. Smith of Keokuk, has loaned the Society, for copying, the Civil War diary of her father, M. F. King, of Keokuk. The diary covers the years 1863 and 1864, when King was a member of Company H, 21st Iowa Infantry. The Society has purchased a rare and valuable diary of the 1844 Dragoon Expedition to the source of the Des Moines River, written by Lieutenant Patrick Noble, one of the officers. Both these documents will eventually be published in the JOURNAL. Mrs. George Durant of Waukon

has given the Society a small pocket diary for 1864 kept by A. E. Colgrove of Company I, 27th Iowa Infantry.

SUPERINTENDENT'S CALENDAR

January 9 — Addressed Nurses' Alumnae Association, Iowa City.
 January 11 — Attended Governor William S. Beardsley's Inaugural.
 February 7 — Addressed Des Moines Women's Club.
 February 20 — Addressed Muscatine Thirty-Three Club.
 February 27 — Addressed "See Iowa First" Club in Des Moines.
 March 8 — Addressed Legislative Wives, Des Moines.
 March 10 — Addressed Rural Teacher-Director Banquet, Decorah.

The following members were elected to membership in the State Historical Society during the months of January and February:

Adel

Adel Public Library

Ainsworth

J. H. Jones

Alburnett

R. L. Batchelder

Ames

Mrs. W. E. Hammond

Anamosa

Jones Co. Rural Schools

Arcadia

Mrs. Edward J. Hennings

Audubon

Audubon Public School

Beaman

Beaman Con. School

Belmond

Clark H. McNeal

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Bloomfield

Mrs. J. R. Lofgren

Boone

Lawrence Beckett

Boone Co. Bd. of Education

Boxholm

Boxholm Con. Schools

Britt

Miss Marjorie Benzler

Mrs. E. P. Healy

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Clarinda Sr. High School
Vern Lisle
Clarion
C. H. Crowe
Clinton
Earl M. Stukas
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Council Bluffs
Miss Frances Barton
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L. W. Ross
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R. A. Peterson
Bert H. Shivers
Mrs. Zella G. Wallace
Dubuque
W. L. Gifford
Robert Loetscher
Mrs. G. D. Rose
Durant
C. T. Schacht
Arthur F. Schiele
Eldora
Martin Z. Albers
Eldridge
Mrs. Errett B. Calderwood
Elkhart
Elkhart Cons. School
Elma
Elma Public School
Emerson
W. Lee Honeyman
Emmetsburg
E. H. Soper
Estherville
Waldo Brink

Everly

Ray Koehn

Fairfield

Dr. Fred J. Hinkhouse

Fertile

Leo Elthon

Fort Dodge

Mrs. J. F. Wall

Gladbrook

W. F. Murray

Greene

Robert Albrecht

C. V. Cave

Mrs. Harry Downs

Greene High School

Bert Pooley

R. J. Pooley

Greenfield

Mrs. Marjorie E. Foster

Grinnell

W. C. Molison

Guttenberg

L. W. Able

Guttenberg Parent-Teachers Assn.

G. W. Hunt

Charles Millham

Hamburg

Hamburg Public School

Harlan

Jay C. Colburn

Bennett Cullison

Hawarden

R. A. Patrick

Inwood

Inwood Ind. School Dist.

Iowa City

Henry Africa

Miss Edith T. Baikie

Stephen G. Darling

Mrs. Walter A. Jessup

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Pleasantville

Mrs. Jack M. Evans
Pleasantville Cons. School

Plover

Plover Cons. School

Rembrandt

Rembrandt Cons. School

Renwick

Vernon Cons. School

Ruthven

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Shenandoah

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Miss Thelma Derby
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Henry Yeggy

Spirit Lake

Mrs. Wilbur C. Anderson

Storm Lake

Walter Sump

Sumner

Miss Lucinda Wolff

Thompson

Thompson Public School

Toledo

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Providence

Wisconsin

Milwaukee Public Library,

Milwaukee

Cornelius G. Weber, Milwaukee

Hawaii

Mrs. Lindsay A. Faye, Kekaha,

Kauai

Iowa Historical Activities

The Burlington Public Library has recently received two valuable newspapers to add to its historical room: a copy of the first issue of the Jacksonville *Western Observer*, forerunner of the Burlington *Hawk-Eye*, and a copy of the first issue of the *Wisconsin Territorial Gazette and Burlington Advertiser*, parent of the Burlington *Gazette*.

The early history of the Belmond and Eagle Grove areas of Wright County were presented at the first annual meeting of the newly incorporated Wright County Historical Society, February 26, 1951. Mrs. A. C. Lieuwen gave the history of Belmond, while Robert D. Blue discussed Eagle Grove. A show case of early 4-H exhibits was presented by the president of the society, R. C. Richardson.

Residents of the Amana communities have been invited to attend the centennial celebration of West Seneca, New York, on July 15, 1951. West Seneca, originally called Ebenezer, was the town from which the original members of the Amana communities emigrated in 1855.

The centennial anniversary of Clear Lake will be observed July 14 and 15, 1951. A pageant under the direction of Mrs. C. A. Pease has been planned, while 10,000 centennial coins, designed by Neil Slocum, will be sold to finance the celebration. M. W. Hughes is chairman of the centennial.

Osceola will celebrate its centennial on August 12 to 15, 1951. Bayard Shadley is chairman of the general committee in charge of the celebration, and is assisted by C. D. Friday, Kenneth Whirrett, and Walt Langfitt.

Waukon is making plans for a centennial celebration this summer. Three men have been named by the Commercial Club to act as general chairmen: Dr. Warren Hayes, Francis Intlekofer, and Dudley C. Hale. Steve Wiedner will act as secretary.

CONTRIBUTORS

William J. Petersen is superintendent of the State Historical Society of Iowa.

Mildred Throne is associate editor of the State Historical Society of Iowa.

Frederick I. Kuhns is research assistant of the State Historical Society of Iowa.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA

ESTABLISHED BY LAW IN THE YEAR 1857
INCORPORATED: 1867, 1892, AND 1942
LOCATED AT IOWA CITY IOWA

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VEVA B. COX.....Editorial Assistant
JOYCE KALENDER.....Stenographer

MEMBERSHIP

Membership in the State Historical Society may be secured through election by the Board of Curators. The annual dues are \$3.00. Members may be enrolled as Life Members upon the payment of \$100.00. Persons who were members of the Society prior to March 1, 1948, may be enrolled as Life Members upon payment of \$50.00.

Address all Communications to

WILLIAM J. PETERSEN, Superintendent
THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY IOWA CITY IOWA

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IOWA

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HISTORY



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July 1951

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WILLIAM J. PETERSEN
*Superintendent
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Vol 49

JULY 1951

No 3

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COVER

Members of the State Historical Society of Iowa on the *Rob Roy III* on the annual Mississippi Steamboat Cruise of the Society.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA: 1949-1951

By William J. Petersen

During the past two years the State Historical Society of Iowa has experienced the same healthy growth it exhibited during the biennium, 1947-1949. It has enjoyed a membership growth which has swept it from somewhere around twentieth up to second place in the United States. It has carried out a publication program that is unequalled by any other State Historical Society in the nation. So far as is known, its institutional memberships among the schools of Iowa are without a parallel in the United States. Although a newcomer in historical tours, its membership participation in these events already places the Society in the front rank in such activities. It has won numerous awards and recognition, continued to merit the friendly support of the General Assembly, and in general maintained a gratifying progress in all areas of its activities.

MEMBERSHIP GROWTH

Members have been advised through *News for Members* regarding both the monthly accretions and the yearly gains in membership by the Society. It will not be amiss to place this current membership growth in proper historical perspective to our growth over the past half century. In 1903, when the first issue of THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS was printed, there were only 60 members in the Society. In 1920, when *The Palimpsest* first appeared, the membership stood at 978. In 1940, at the time of Dr. Shambaugh's death, a total of 1,560 Iowans were members of the State Historical Society. This marked the end of an era, for to many Iowans the names of Benj. F. Shambaugh and State Historical Society were synonymous. During the next seven years the well-established policy of periodically inviting interested Iowans to membership was dropped, and the membership consequently declined to 1,121. On July 1, 1947, the Society numbered only 683 active members and 438 life members. At that time the historical societies of the five states of the Upper Mississippi Valley ranked as follows in active and life membership combined: Missouri — 4,312; Wisconsin — 2,343; Illinois — 1,682; Minnesota — 1,674; Iowa — 1,121.

In 1947 your present Superintendent and Board of Curators adopted new policies and formulated broader objectives. At that time one-third of our counties had two or less members — and six counties actually had no members at all. The first objective, it was felt, should be a state historical society with a more evenly distributed membership. The compilation on page 195 reveals rather graphically the growth that our Society has enjoyed over the last two bienniums.

This represents the greatest increase of any Society in the country over the past four years. The following figures on our neighboring societies in the Upper Mississippi Valley are significant.

<i>Historical Society</i>	<i>1947</i>	<i>1951</i>	<i>Yearly Dues</i>	<i>Population, 4-1-1950</i>
Missouri	4,312	5,471	\$1.00	3,954,653
Wisconsin	2,343	3,225	\$3.50	3,434,575
Illinois	1,682	3,400	\$2.00	8,712,176
Minnesota	1,674	2,900	\$4.00	2,982,483
Iowa	1,121	3,709	\$3.00	2,621,073

On July 20, 1951, Mr. Floyd C. Shoemaker, Secretary of the State Historical Society of Missouri, who had been assigned by the American Association for State and Local History to collect membership statistics for all historical societies, sent the following letter:

Dr. William J. Petersen, Superintendent
The State Historical Society of Iowa
Iowa City, Iowa.

Dear Bill:

Congratulations! Data on hand, which I believe is sufficiently complete, give you second rank in the United States in adult pay members and in total number of pages of historical (magazine and book) and documentary material published by a state historical society during the biennium ending June 30, 1951. We are still first, of course, in both!!! Our adult pay membership on July 1, 1951, was 5,471. . . .

Cordially,
Floyd C. Shoemaker,
Secretary.

The gratifying factor in this growth has been its relative uniformity — all 99 counties have shown an increase and while some counties have ex-

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA

Membership Gains by County, 1947-1951

July Membership

County	1947	1949	1951	County	1947	1949	1951
Polk	127	186	315	Humboldt	2	9	19
Johnson	123	202	285	Butler	4	6	18
Linn	81	101	204	Mills	5	9	18
Scott	90	152	197	O'Brien	5	18	18
Black Hawk	48	93	138	Palo Alto	4	9	17
Clinton	17	36	71	Allamakee	8	10	16
Dubuque	25	46	71	Buena Vista	0	6	16
Muscatine	8	22	71	Cherokee	4	12	16
Iowa	15	38	68	Osceola	1	9	16
Washington	18	30	64	Wright	5	9	16
Wapello	14	44	60	Hardin	4	8	15
Lee	20	43	58	Sioux	2	9	15
Cerro Gordo	15	20	57	Taylor	3	6	15
Des Moines	19	36	56	Lyon	1	11	14
Benton	13	23	52	Marion	9	9	14
Pottawattamie	16	23	46	Union	2	6	14
Mahaska	8	14	45	Van Buren	2	9	14
Story	12	20	45	Winneshek	5	7	14
Cedar	10	26	42	Madison	0	5	13
Tama	3	15	40	Calhoun	4	7	12
Appanoose	8	12	39	Crawford	4	6	12
Webster	5	31	39	Hancock	4	7	12
Keokuk	12	17	35	Shelby	4	5	12
Cass	8	30	34	Emmet	1	11	11
Marshall	14	18	33	Floyd	1	7	11
Page	6	13	31	Fremont	2	12	11
Grundy	8	21	30	Warren	3	4	11
Hamilton	7	12	30	Sac	3	7	11
Jasper	5	14	30	Adair	0	4	10
Jefferson	12	23	30	Audubon	0	9	10
Woodbury	14	21	30	Franklin	4	7	10
Clayton	5	10	29	Monroe	2	5	10
Kossuth	4	24	29	Clarke	1	10	9
Dickinson	6	32	28	Decatur	0	9	9
Montgomery	8	18	28	Guthrie	5	7	9
Buchanan	7	13	27	Lucas	3	4	9
Boone	3	18	25	Monona	5	5	9
Fayette	6	9	25	Ringgold	2	5	9
Louisa	8	24	25	Howard	1	1	8
Pocahontas	8	9	25	Plymouth	4	10	8
Poweshiek	6	11	25	Worth	2	2	8
Carroll	5	15	23	Harrison	2	2	7
Henry	9	11	23	Ida	5	5	7
Jones	8	17	23	Winnebago	0	4	7
Greene	4	11	22	Adams	3	5	6
Jackson	4	5	22	Chickasaw	2	4	6
Bremer	7	10	21	Davis	2	2	6
Clay	2	16	21	Mitchell	1	1	5
Dallas	9	16	19	Wayne	4	6	4
Delaware	1	15	19				

celled others, the following shows that the average increase of the thirty weakest counties actually exceeds the total over-all membership increase.

Increase in Active and Life Members

	1947	1949	1951
Active Members	683	1,749	3,095
Life Members	438	545	614
<hr/>			
Total Members	1,121	2,294	3,709
Net Gain		1,171	1,344
Total Membership, 30 lowest counties...	80	146	306
Average Membership, 30 lowest counties	2.6	4.9	10.2

Two years ago we set our future goals at 3,138 members in 1951 and 3,650 members in 1953. Our 3,709 members this year actually exceeded our goal for two years hence. It now appears as though we will readily exceed our 1955 goal in 1953, provided our members continue their warm support of our program. It would really be heartening to gain our 1957 goal of 5,000 by 1955. Here is our "Past Membership" and "Future Goals":

Past Membership

	<i>Active</i>	<i>Life</i>	<i>Total</i>
1947.....	683	438	1,121
1949.....	1,749	545	2,294
1951.....	3,095	614	3,709

Future Goals

1953.....	3,600	650	4,250
1955.....	4,000	700	4,700
1957.....	4,500	725	5,225
1959.....	5,000	750	5,750

There is still plenty of opportunity for our members to increase our representation in over half the counties, more especially in the weaker counties. The past four years have demonstrated how quickly a weak county can become strong: Madison, from 0 to 13; Buena Vista, from 0 to 16; Delaware and Mills, both from 1 to 18; Osceola, from 1 to 16; Lyon, from 1 to 13; Clay, from 2 to 21; Humboldt, from 2 to 19; Sioux, from 2 to 15; Boone, from 3 to 27; Tama, from 3 to 41; Kossuth, from 4 to 29; Greene, from 4 to 22; Webster, from 5 to 39; Dickinson, from 6 to 28; Buchanan, from 7 to 26; Muscatine, from 8 to 71. These fine gains can be attributed to the good work of such members as Mrs. Ray Mills of Madison, Mrs. F. A.

Wortman of Mills, Miss Elizabeth Trei of Osceola, Judge Otho S. Thomas of Lyon, Mrs. Harry Narey of Dickinson, Leo Fitzgibbons of Emmet, W. C. Dewel and Norman Cotton of Kossuth, J. F. Traer and Mrs. Faye B. MacMartin of Tama, Senator Paul E. McCarville of Webster, Clarence R. Off and Glenn A. Ellis of Iowa, Walter Jacobs of Clayton, Wm. S. Lynes of Bremer, and William D. Randall of Muscatine. The latter is responsible for over thirty members in Muscatine County, and has largely through his own personal efforts more than doubled the membership there.

During the next four years I would like to see similar increases in the following counties, which are the only ones remaining with less than 10 members per county:

Clarke 9	Howard 8	Adams 6
Decatur 9	Worth 8	Davis 6
Guthrie 9	Harrison 7	Chickasaw 5
Lucas 9	Ida 7	Mitchell 4
Monona 9	Plymouth 7	Wayne 4
Ringgold 9	Winnebago 7	

While our first objective should be to see that all of the above counties increase their membership well over ten, it should be pointed out that one county in Iowa which has a population equivalent to ten of the above can count only 29 members. Although this represents a 100 per cent gain over four years ago, Sioux City, the second largest city in Iowa, should have at least 150 members. It is the only large city in Iowa where work really needs to be done, although Council Bluffs, Marshalltown, and Oskaloosa can improve their standing.

PUBLICATIONS

Turning next to our publication program, we find that both our quarterly and monthly magazines have appeared regularly, and both have gained a wider reader interest than ever before.

The first issue of our quarterly appeared in January, 1903; the JOURNAL is now in its forty-ninth volume. Designed for the publication of scholarly articles on Iowa history, the quarterly has, over the years, made available in permanent form to members and students of history articles based on sound historical research in every phase of Iowa life.

With the issue of January, 1949, certain changes were made. The name was shortened to IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY; a smaller but more readable

type font was selected on the advice of Carroll Coleman; a colorful, illustrated cover was chosen; and every effort has been made to find and publish articles and documents of value and interest.

In choosing articles for publication we have looked for sound research, adequate documentation, and a variety in subject matter. In order to appeal to as many readers as possible, and to provide articles on several different subjects in each issue, we have abandoned the former practice of publishing long condensations of theses of limited interest. Rather, these sixty or ninety-page articles have been issued, where publication was justified, in separates, such as the booklet on the *Iowa Tax Commission*. In the JOURNAL, during the past two and one-half years, we have published twenty-six articles dealing with agriculture, railroads, newspapers, magazines, education, medicine, the theater, and such prominent political figures in Iowa life as William Boyd Allison, Jonathan P. Dolliver, Cyrus C. Carpenter, Horace Boies, and Albert Baird Cummins.

Documents — letters or diaries written by our forefathers — have been included in each issue not only because they are of value to the historian but also because they afford reading of unusual personal interest to the members of the Society. The sixteen documents published have been original materials on pioneering, westward travel, and Iowans in the Civil War. Most of these documents were either loaned or given to us by members. We want more of these original documents and will welcome such contributions from our members, who, in this way, can help us preserve the history of Iowa, and at the same time share their family letters and diaries with a wider audience.

With the January, 1951, issue a new department has been inaugurated which should prove valuable. Old newspapers, farm journals, and out-of-print books contain much of Iowa history not readily available. By reprinting some of this material, under the heading, "Source Material in Iowa History," we hope to add new value and variety to the JOURNAL.

The scholarship of the material published in the JOURNAL is shown by the fact that of the 37 authors who have contributed to our quarterly since the change in format, 31 have been holders of the Ph. D. degree, and 4 of the M. A. degree. Thus, we feel that our quarterly can compare more than favorably with the historical journals of our sister institutions in the sound scholarship of its contributions to local history.

Our monthly magazine is unique in the field of state historical society

publications. The purpose behind *The Palimpsest* has always been to present history accurately, interestingly, and dramatically. In addition to maintaining the above qualities, a new feature has been added: the use of photos, maps, graphs, and charts has brought new color and meaning to the story. The popularity of *The Palimpsest* has increased appreciably since pictures have been introduced on a large scale. During 1950 more than 100,000 copies of *The Palimpsest* were printed, or more than double the requirements for memberships, depositories, and exchanges. Almost all of these extra copies have been distributed, and the supply in some instances is exceedingly low and soon will be completely exhausted. For instance, 13,000 of the 15,000 Amana copies printed in June, 1950, were distributed in less than a year; less than 2,000 of the 18,000 copies of *Iowa Government in Action* are still available. When schools order their customary supplies this fall it is likely that most of these issues will go out of print.

The magnitude of the editorial problem involved in securing appropriate and interesting pictures is revealed by the fact that the 1950 volume of *The Palimpsest* contained more pictures than were placed in the first twenty volumes combined. And pictures, it must be remembered, are difficult and sometimes almost impossible to secure. Some of our most experienced contributors have found it relatively easy to prepare an issue for *The Palimpsest* but have found it virtually impossible to secure the necessary illustrations.

There is a great need for alerting Iowans to the need of preserving their choicest historical pictures — not merely in their own homes, but in the files of the State Historical Society of Iowa, where they will ultimately have a fair chance of being printed in one of our publications and thus being shared with thousands of readers. On a recent visit to George Wright's law office in Council Bluffs I spied a picture of Senator William Boyd Allison and Speaker of the House David B. Henderson, seated in an automobile in front of the Allison home in Dubuque. The car was a Dubuque-built Adams-Farwell, and hence the picture is a priceless gem both from the standpoint of personalities and of automobile construction in Iowa. Some day soon members can expect to see it on the front cover of *The Palimpsest*.

During the biennium, two unusually fine books were issued. The reprint of *Galland's Iowa Emigrant* appeared in January, 1950, and was promptly hailed by some as one of the best volumes ever produced by the Society.

Fully 3,500 copies of the book were printed, with the type being set by Carroll Coleman, nationally-known typographer at the University of Iowa. Shortly after he performed this work Mr. Coleman was elected a member of the Board of Curators of the State Historical Society of Iowa. An original copy of the book was so rare that the Library of Congress has been able to locate only a half dozen copies, two of which were found in Iowa. Since the reprint was issued a number of originals have come to light. Meanwhile, the 3,500-reprint has gone out of print, due largely to the great number of new members taken in before April 1, 1950.

When the Galland book appeared, your superintendent pointed out that members would be receiving "a typographical gem as well as one of the most unique volumes on early Iowa." That assertion was vindicated early in 1951 when *Galland's Iowa Emigrant* was named one of the "Fifty Books of the Year" by the American Institute of Graphic Arts, because of its typographical excellence. Sets of these "Fifty Books of the Year" have been placed on display in leading centers in the United States and Europe. In July word was received that the United States Army had acquired three sets of these "Fifty Books of the Year" and was placing them on a tour of the leading Japanese cities.

The second and latest bound volume produced by the Society was Dr. Earle D. Ross's *Iowa Agriculture: An Historical Survey*, which was distributed to members in February, 1951. A total of 4,500 copies of this book were printed and the price was set at \$4.50 for non-members. This scholarly work has won warm praise from many members. It will be distributed as a book dividend to new members as long as the supply lasts. Since both the Plumbe and Galland books went out of print in less than six months, it is likely that the Ross book will follow this same pattern and be out of print by this fall. Our growing membership is attested by the increased printing of the Plumbe, Galland, and Ross books — 3,000, 3,500, and 4,500 respectively.

Spurred on by Floyd C. Shoemaker, amiable Secretary of the State Historical Society of Missouri, I have compiled the following statistics on the number of pages printed by the State Historical Society of Iowa for the biennium — July 1, 1949–July 1, 1951:

Publication	Pages	Totals
<i>The Palimpsest</i>		
July–Dec. 1949	245	

Jan.-Dec. 1950	592	
Jan.-June 1951	296	
		1,133
<i>Iowa Journal of History</i>		
July-Oct. 1949	226	
Jan.-Oct. 1950	424	
Jan.-Apr. 1951	192	
		842
<i>News for Members</i>		
July-Dec. 1949	24	
Jan.-Dec. 1950	48	
Jan.-June 1951	24	
		96
<i>Some Information</i> (Jan. 1951)	64	64
<i>Membership List</i> (Jan. 1950)	56	56
<i>Iowa State Tax Commission</i> by David C. Scott (Mar. 1950)	80	80
<i>Legislation of the Fifty-Third General Assembly of Iowa</i> by J. A. Swisher & R. M. Ross (Jan. 1951)	72	72
<i>Galland's Iowa Emigrant</i> (1950)	48	48
<i>Iowa Agriculture</i> by Earle D. Ross (1951)	226	226
Total pages		2,617

During the same period, Mr. Shoemaker's Society printed 2,492 pages — but members received only the *Missouri Historical Review* (their quarterly magazine totaling 902 pages). The Missouri quarterly includes in the total their pictures, which are paged. Our *Palimpsest* contained 165 pages of pictures during the biennium, and these 165 pages do not include our pictured covers. We still believe that the Missouri membership at \$1.00 and the Iowa membership at \$3.00 are the two best bargains in the United States.

THE LIBRARY

Most members have little idea of the magnitude of the library resources of the State Historical Society. The following figures are impressive:

Books	70,000
Pamphlets	29,000
Newspapers	6,000

It is worth while noting that about one book in every eight on the University of Iowa campus is in the possession of the State Historical Society of Iowa. These books are specialized and are widely used by graduate students in history, political science, economics, sociology, journalism, education, and other fields. In addition, faculty members and scholars from all over the country come and use these books. Our library also forms the chief source of information for most of the historical research by our Society staff.

During the past two years 3,380 books were accessioned, compared with 1,325 books accessioned in the previous biennium. If the average rate of accretion during the past four years is maintained during the next twenty years, the Society's library will contain 100,000 books, compared with only 70,000 today. And a one-third increase means that adequate shelving space must be provided to house such acquisitions.

The same proportionate growth is likely to take place in our pamphlet and manuscript collections. This means that more space is needed for steel filing cabinets and shelves, beyond that required to contain our already bulging cases and cabinets. This need becomes all the more acute if we are going to institute our much-needed collection of historic and current photographs. The latter would require the services of at least a half-time employee, and the proper acquisition and cataloguing of newspaper clippings would necessitate another half-time employee, or a full-time employee for the two activities. Thus, space and adequate full-time help, reasonably compensated, are two crucial needs that cannot long be overlooked. Space must be provided by the University, while the General Assembly must vote sufficient funds to carry out this much-needed work.

The subject matter of photographs — both historical and contemporary, both of personalities and events — has engrossed much of our thought over the past two years. One can readily see, from what has been said above, that such a project would demand considerable individual attention. The following are only suggested possibilities for collecting:

<i>Transportation</i>	trains	television
<i>& Communication</i>	trucks	<i>Sports</i>
aviation	telephone	baseball
automobile	telegraph	basketball
bicycles	radio	football
busses	waterways	track

tennis	<i>Amusements</i>	<i>Historic Homes and Buildings</i>
golf	theater	<i>Notable Iowans</i>
swimming	opera	<i>Iowa Events</i>
wrestling	movies	
hunting	lyceum	<i>War</i>
fishing	circus	Civil War
horse racing	state parks	Spanish-American
	county fairs	Mexican
<i>Churches</i>	<i>Clubs</i>	World War I
exteriors	service	World War II
interiors	fraternal	Korea
sociables	women's	
missions	patriotic	<i>Agriculture</i>
Sunday school	farm-labor	grain
leaders	<i>Professions</i>	livestock
	doctors	dairy
<i>Education</i>	dentists	fruit
college	druggists	poultry-eggs
high school	lawyers	cheese
grade school	barbers	
consolidate	<i>Architecture</i>	<i>Industry</i>
1-room	churches	meat packing
academies	schools	wood working
Chautauqua	courthouses	brick & tile
professional	farm homes	cement
special	city homes	printing
		special

Splendid as are our library and research facilities, they do not compare with the resources of our sister institution at Madison, Wisconsin, in 1948:

<i>Books and Pamphlets</i>	<i>Madison</i>	<i>Iowa City</i>
State University	575,000	576,000
State Historical Society	695,000	92,000

It is in our newspaper collections that we have been especially derelict. The Wisconsin and Minnesota Historical Societies each have approximately 40,000 bound volumes of newspapers, while the Kansas Historical Society has 63,000 bound volumes. In contrast, the State Historical Society of Iowa has approximately 6,000 bound volumes, or less than one-tenth the holdings of Kansas. Viewed in still another way, our Iowa society has acquired bound volumes of newspapers at the rate of only 65 volumes per year over the past 90 years. During the biennium 1949-1951, the Society bound 254

volumes of newspapers: 20 dailies and 20 weeklies. During the years 1951-1953 we will probably bind 20 dailies and 50 weeklies, which will work up into about 300 volumes. Thus, in 20 years we will bind 3,000 volumes of newspapers, while in 40 years we will add 6,000 volumes to our holdings, or as many as were acquired in the previous 90 years. Although our program will be accelerated to more than double its past rate, it will still leave us far in the rear of our sister institutions. What we lose in quantity, however, we hope to make up in selectivity, for the weeklies and dailies bound will be chosen on the basis of geography, editorial and mechanical excellence, size of town, and an equitable representation of political parties and labor and farm elements. Thus, we hope to find mirrored in our newspaper files all phases of life in Iowa as we find it today.

Meanwhile, it is important for our membership to advise us should any bound volumes of newspapers become available. Many such collections are housed in fire traps and are in imminent danger of destruction. Sometimes lack of space is a factor, and newspapers are thereupon burned or hauled away to a dump. In many instances local public libraries are affording newspapers reasonable assurance from destruction by fire. Wherever and whenever it seems best to house a newspaper file here at Iowa City, it would be wise to write the Society at once. There are many towns in sections that are not well-represented in our newspaper collections, and hence it is difficult for us to do adequate research on these towns and districts. This can be quickly rectified if we can acquire a good file of newspapers from a town.

Meanwhile, the Society library itself is being converted from the Dewey to the Library of Congress system of classification. In 1947 this work was about half finished; during the biennium ending in 1949 I was able to report 7,305 books had been reclassified. During the biennium 1949-1951 a total of 10,150 books were recatalogued into the Library of Congress system. This meant that the work was more than 90 per cent done, and that the most significant sections of our library were now easily accessible through a cross-reference system that is highly effective and has proven a boon to our staff and to scholars using our library as a research laboratory.

HISTORICAL TOURS

For many years several of the leading state historical societies have sponsored overland tours to various sections of their states. These tours have been highly educational and have cemented together, by a common bond of

historical interest, the members of the societies. The tours have served to revitalize local historical societies; provided spot news for radios and newspapers; and in general quickened the pulse of public interest in state and local history.

Your Superintendent is still mindful of the fact that both the Minnesota and Wisconsin societies have larger staffs with which to promote such tours. Indeed, both have paid individuals to carry on membership promotion and historical tours. The enthusiastic reactions of the 44 members of our first trip aboard the *Rob Roy III* on October 10, 1948, and the response of our members to our second annual two-day trip on July 30 and 31, 1949, when 230 jammed the decks of the *Rob Roy III* and the *Alma*, revealed the genuine interest and enthusiasm of our members for such trips. One of the features of this second annual cruise was the All-Iowa-Menu of forty-eight varieties of food, supplied at cost by thirty Iowa processors located in twenty-three Iowa towns, making it possible to provide State Historical Society members with a trip at a cost of only \$2.00 per person. The rising cost of food made it necessary to increase the fee to \$3.00 per person for the 1950 and 1951 trips.

The response of press and radio to these tours was equally prompt and enthusiastic. No activity of the Society in the past has won such widespread publicity. The river cruises also caught the attention of the American Association for State and Local History. At its annual meeting at Portland, Oregon, on August 30, 1950, the Association voted an Award of Merit to the State Historical Society of Iowa:

For having developed a unique annual tour in the form of a boat excursion down the Mississippi river for the Society's members and their friends, with attendant broadcasts, newspaper publicity, and colored photography; for initiating an all-Iowa food menu; and for encouraging a dynamic educational program in state and local history.

In 1949, acting on the recommendation of the Superintendent of the Society, Commodore O. D. Collis was presented with a special Award of Merit by the American Association for having made his *Rob Roy III* available to members of the Society, thus promoting interest in state and local history. In 1950 the *Des Moines Register* and the *Cedar Rapids Gazette* were presented with Awards of Merit by the Association. The citation to the *Des Moines Register* reads: "For recurrent featuring of Iowa history in the

Sunday edition through illustrated articles which are both authentic and colorfully written; for almost daily attention given to local history; and for the historical features of their centennial edition." The award to the Cedar Rapids *Gazette* reads: "For publication of special editions devoted to state and local history which have won widespread acclaim and awakened interest in local history throughout the region; and for almost daily publication of illustrated articles dealing with a large section of Iowa."

This splendid recognition on the part of the American Association for State and Local History should be a source of gratification to our membership. If increased attendance is any criteria, certainly the Mississippi cruises have been a great success. The following figures are significant:

Year	Days	Boats	Passengers Carried
1948.....	1	1	49
1949.....	2	2	230
1950.....	4	1	375
1951.....	6	1	600

In analyzing the figures for the 1951 cruise it would appear that about one in every 10 of our 3,709 members boarded the *Rob Roy III*. These members came from over a hundred Iowa communities in over sixty Iowa counties. A gratifying fact is that members came from many of our western counties — from Fremont, Page, and Pottawattamie in the southwest, and from Woodbury, O'Brien, Clay, and Emmet in the northwest. One member came all the way from Redlands, California, while several came from the Chicago area.

Originally, it will be recalled, your Superintendent suggested that an overland tour over the Old Military Road from Iowa City to Dubuque (with a return by way of Jackson County) would afford a rich scenic and historic trip. More than two hundred members signified an interest in such a tour, but our limited personnel caused us to drop this project. Last year, however, we ran a "pilot tour" of the Amana colonies to discover the problems involved in an overland trip. A total of 130 members and friends made the tour, and great enthusiasm was expressed over it. During the year that followed, so many requests were made for another Amana tour that it was decided to combine one with the biennial business meeting and election of a Board of Curators. This eliminated arranging a special program for the biennial business meeting. The decision proved to be a happy one, for a caravan of 75 cars brought 225 members, relatives, and guests from 52 dif-

ferent Iowa towns to make the second annual Amana tour. At the Ox Yoke Inn, 195 reservations were made for a fine Amana dinner and the biennial business meeting. This more than doubled the 96 reservations for a similar dinner at the Hotel Jefferson two years before. One can only conclude that Society members have a deep and abiding interest in the Amana colonies, and that overland tours to interesting points are as popular as river cruises and should be promoted just as vigorously.

We hope to promote trips over the Old Military Road and, as time goes on, tours for Society members to the Pella Tulip Festival, to the Kalona-Wellman Amish-Mennonite country, to Davenport-Muscatine, and to the Keokuk-Fort Madison area, which is a veritable cradle of Iowa history. Nor will we overlook trips to southwestern Iowa and to the lovely Okoboji region in northwestern Iowa. Much good will accrue from such tours. Indeed, many Iowans are joining the Society because it has instituted this particular form of activity.

It goes without saying that our Society will continue to sponsor overland tours to the limits of staff ability and the interest of our members. Any activity that can win the widespread interest of the press and public, and at the same time enlist the participation of a goodly segment of our membership, deserves further support. It is my hope that our members will join in promoting celebrations, such as the Pella Tulip Festival, throughout Iowa. If our membership takes an interest and an active part in such activities we can be sure there will be no cheap commercialism introduced into such community festivals and pageants. It was heartening to note the response to my recent editorial in *News for Members*. In "Carroll Can Do It" in the *Carroll Daily Times-Herald*, James W. Wilson declared:

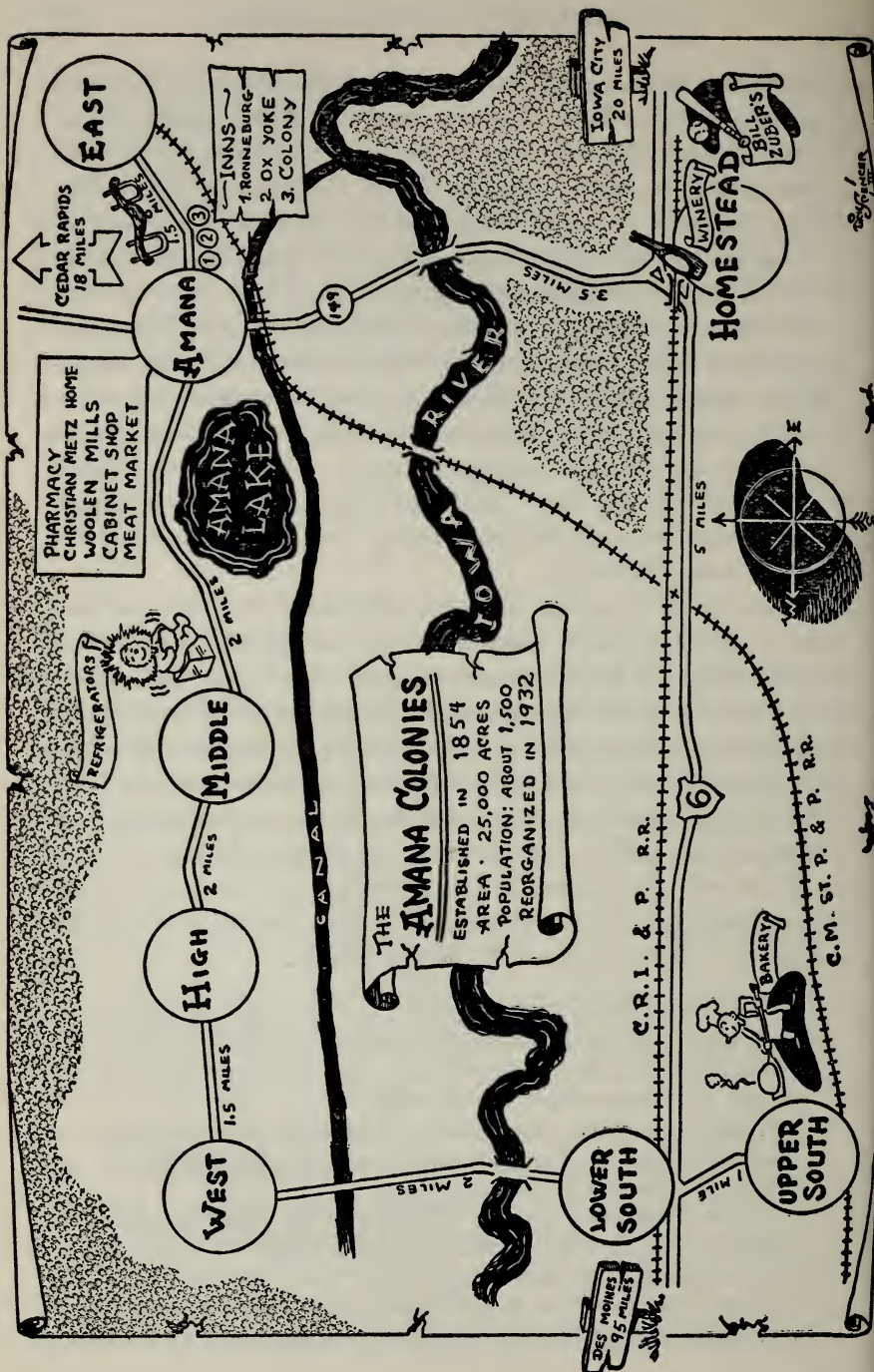
"Steamboat Bill" (W. J.) Petersen . . . has advanced an idea well-worthwhile the consideration of every community in the state.

Mr. Petersen believes Iowa should have more celebrations like Pella's and Orange City's tulip festivals.

He has a good idea there. Few communities in Iowa could not stage some kind of a local observance each year that would contribute in a big way to the Iowa scene.

He was discussing this idea on a tour of the Amana colonies where he felt an annual festival would be highly successful in those richly historic colonies.

There is no reason, he feels, why other Iowa communities cannot produce outstanding historic festivals around their national



POINTS OF INTEREST ON THE AMANA TOUR

Homestead:

1. Homestead Church.
2. Bill Zuber's Dugout, Formerly Homestead Hotel.
3. Homestead Store. William Ehrle, Mgr.
4. Homestead of Dr. Henry G. Moershel: President, Amana Society.
5. Homestead Store — Implement Department.
6. Homestead Meat Market. William Ackerman, Mgr.
7. The Winery. William and Emil Ehrle.
8. Sandwich Shop. H. Theo. Kippenhan, Mgr.

Upper South:

9. Bakery. Ferdinand Shoup, Mgr.
10. View of Amana Colonies.

Lower South:

11. Sandwich Shop. F. J. Ruff, Mgr.

West:

12. Dairy.
13. Amana Society Apple Orchard.

High:

14. Cattle Barns.

Middle:

15. High School.
16. Middle Store. Wm. H. Zuber, Mgr.
17. Hearth Oven at Karl Hahn Home.
18. Amana Refrigeration, Inc. George Foerstner, Mgr.
19. Amana Lake and Lilies.

Amana:

20. Amana Pharmacy. F. W. Miller, Mgr.
21. Old Amana Pump.
22. Home and Garden of Dr. Charles F. Noe.
23. Ronneburg Inn. Mrs. Helen Zimmerman, Owner.
24. Ox Yoke Inn. Bill Leichsenring, Owner.
25. Colony Inn. Jacob Roemig, Owner.
26. Amana Woolen Mills. Dave Krauss, Supt.
27. Woolen Mill Sales Room. John Reihman.
28. Cabinet Shop. Jacob R. Zscherny, Mgr.
29. Meat Market. George Schuerer, Mgr.
30. Hog Farrowing House. Harry A. Geiger, Farm Mgr.
31. Dairy Barn—90 head of Holsteins.
32. Christian Metz Home.
33. Amana Store. Fred P. Goerler.

East Amana:

34. Mrs. Lena Schuerer Home and Gardens.
35. East Amana Church.
36. East Amana Cemetery.

groups. He named the Bohemians at Cedar Rapids, Germans at Davenport, Norwegians at Decorah, the Swedes and Danes as among those having potentialities.

Hasn't Carroll, too, some possibilities in its predominantly German background? This might be worth looking into. . . .

The Davenport *Times* was equally enthusiastic about the possibilities of promoting more tours and festivals in Iowa. Such a program, the editor observed, "goes far toward keeping alive a link with the achievements of the pioneers who laid the foundations for Iowa's happiness and prosperity as we of today know it."

MUCH HAS BEEN DONE — MUCH WORK LIES AHEAD

One cannot help expressing satisfaction with the accomplishments of the biennium — 1949–1951. Much solid and important work has been accomplished, but much hard work lies ahead. To those of us who love the opportunity of helping to preserve and disseminate the history of Iowa, this work must always serve as an inspiration and a challenge. Many of the goals of 1949 have been reached, and our sights must now be trained on more distant objectives. The addition of 300 institutional school memberships brings us to the half-way mark. Let's see if we can't reach 600 institutional school memberships by 1953. The promotion of one Book Shelf of Iowa History in every county is still a dream; let's make it a reality. The development of an endowment fund, and the securing of private financial support for special projects, are still objectives worthy of our best efforts. The foundation has been laid and real progress has been registered. The enthusiastic support of our membership will do much toward finally achieving these goals.

THE CUMMINS-CANNON CONTROVERSY OF 1909

By Waldo W. Braden

At the opening of the present century progressives and conservatives struggled for control within both major parties. In 1896 the Democrats had succumbed to William Jennings Bryan and the liberals, but conservative Republicans, firmly entrenched, were slower to give way. In 1909 insurgency showed itself in force in both houses during the special session of the Sixty-first Congress. The rebellious Middle Western Senators, under the leadership of Robert M. La Follette of Wisconsin, and Jonathan P. Dolliver and Albert B. Cummins of Iowa, broke with the administration over the passage of the Payne-Aldrich tariff. In the House of Representatives the dictatorial tactics of Speaker Joseph Cannon caused insurrection.

Newspapers and magazines had labeled Cannon a czar and a tyrant and had charged that he was primarily interested in promoting the welfare of the large corporations. Many Iowa Congressmen held him responsible for the failure of Congress to carry out what they considered the campaign promises of 1908.

These struggles were reflected locally throughout the nation. In Iowa this outbreak of hostilities was not surprising, for in every Congressional district the progressives and standpatters had for some years been calling each other names and hotly contesting each election. Sensing the dramatic aspects of the quarrel, the citizens of Knoxville, Iowa, invited Joseph Cannon and Albert Baird Cummins to address homecoming crowds on successive days, October 5 and October 6, 1909, at the third annual Old Home Week. They were eager to see what would happen when the Iowa junior Senator, who had recently attracted so much attention for his fearless and outspoken opposition to the Payne-Aldrich tariff, met the colorful "Uncle Joe" Cannon, aptly called "the worst hated man on earth."¹

Knoxville's Old Home Week was a typical Iowa fall festival with a carni-

¹ Des Moines *Capital*, Sept. 27, 1909. The newest work on Cannon is Blair Bolles, *Tyrant from Illinois: Uncle Joe Cannon's Experiment with Personal Power* (New York, 1951).

val, concessions, barkers, bands, and parades. Farmers' Day opened the festivities on October 5, and drew a crowd estimated at ten to twelve thousand persons.² First in the afternoon came the Farmers' Parade, including entries for the best float depicting farm life, the best four-horse team, the best decorated carriage, the biggest team of horses, the best pony rig, the best driving team, the best draft foal of 1909, the best mule team, and the best mounted company of ten persons.³ After the parade, the onlookers hurried to the opera house to see and to hear the famous Joseph Cannon. Every available seat was taken; standing room was at a premium.⁴

The original plan was for the speaker to address the crowd from a platform erected east of the Marion County courthouse. Cannon, however, preferred to speak inside; he stated that he did not wish to face "the autumn wind that whistled around the courthouse." Although this gave him a better opportunity for effective speaking, he limited his audience considerably by the decision.

At two o'clock Cam Culbertson, Republican County Chairman, called the meeting to order and introduced Congressman J. H. T. Hull, Representative of the district, as chairman of the day. After the crowd sang "America," Mr. Hull spoke briefly "paying his respects to the critics of President Taft" and declaring that Mr. Cannon was the most benevolent czar that he had "known in his sixteen years experience as a congressman."⁵ Then followed Cannon's two-hour address on "The Rules of the House."

In this address Cannon first attempted to justify his interpretation of the "Rules," stressing the importance of cooperation in conducting business. He ridiculed the charge that he was a "czar" by countering that every Speaker during the thirty-eight years of his service in Congress had been accused of packing the committees. Long trained in the rough-and-tumble school of invective, he knew the value of *reductio ad absurdum*. He claimed that these charges were "the invention of the minority" set on making political capital of his position.

After finishing his ethical proof — that is, answering the charges against his character — he turned to a consideration of the Payne-Aldrich tariff, the paramount issue. First, he reviewed the history of the Republican tariff and

² Knoxville Journal, Oct. 8, 1909.

³ Ibid., Sept. 24, 1909.

⁴ Ibid., Oct. 8, 1909.

⁵ Ottumwa Daily Courier, Oct. 6, 1909.

asserted that high tariffs had contributed to the prosperity of the country. Secondly, he attempted to prove that the recently enacted tariff was a good law in spite of its limitations and that it fulfilled the Republican campaign promise of 1908. He maintained that Cummins and Dolliver, by their opposition, had "practically joined hands with Bryan." He knew that Cummins could not overlook this charge.⁶

In brief, Cannon had done two things. First, he had shown that the volume of business demanded that the Speaker take the lead in legislative procedure; therefore, the insurgents were unjust in their condemnation of him. Secondly, he pointed out that the Payne-Aldrich tariff was passed by the majority and signed by the President; the insurgents, in refusing to support the majority, had betrayed the party; and therefore, in the coming election they should not be supported by the Republican electorate.

Albert B. Cummins spoke on Fraternal Day, the second day of the Knoxville homecoming. Preceding his address there was a talk at 11:00 A. M. by John P. White, president of the United Mine Workers, District Thirteen, and at 1:00 P. M., the Fraternal Parade sponsored by the lodges and clubs of the town.⁷

Cummins had arrived that morning by train from Des Moines and had gone directly to the Parsons House where he spent the remainder of the morning interviewing friends. At noon he was the guest at a businessmen's luncheon, "strictly non-partisan," at which there were eighteen present "representing the four banks, both newspapers, and other business men of the city." At 1:00 P. M., from the veranda of the Parsons House, Cummins and his party reviewed the Fraternal Parade, the most colorful and the most elaborate event of the celebration. Said the *Knoxville Journal*: "There were dozens of handsomely decorated equipages, splendidly caparisoned horses, fair women and brave men in the procession, and their appearance evoked a continuous volley of applause all along the line."

Not following the example of the Illinois Congressman, Cummins chose to face the "autumn winds." He addressed the crowd, which had to stand, from a platform erected in the square east of the courthouse. Here he had to compete with the noises of the carnival, and a reporter stated that fewer

⁶ Des Moines *Capital*, Oct. 7, 1909; Des Moines *Register and Leader*, Oct. 6, 1909. For a discussion of the Payne-Aldrich Tariff, see George Mowry, *Theodore Roosevelt and the Progressive Movement* (Madison, Wisc., 1946), Chap. II.

⁷ *Knoxville Journal*, Sept. 24, Oct. 8, 1909.

people heard "Senator Cummins uninterruptedly than listened to Mr. Cannon Tuesday, but a great many more saw the Senator and heard parts of his address than got to view the Speaker of the House."⁸

In many respects the audience which Albert B. Cummins addressed on October 6, 1909, was similar to the one Cannon had faced the previous day. The great majority of his listeners were farmers, miners, and townspeople of Marion County. Cannon undoubtedly drew more standpat Republicans, while in their stead, Cummins attracted the enthusiastic progressive Republicans. Nevertheless, many who heard Cannon probably returned to hear Cummins' answer. As a whole, this audience was probably more friendly to Cummins than to Cannon. These people knew their Senator, who in the past had demonstrated his intelligence, his character, and his good will. In the previous primary a majority of the Republicans of Marion County had favored S. F. Prouty, the progressive Republican, in preference to Representative Hull, the standpat candidate, and had given Prouty a plurality of 259 votes over Hull. In the six counties of the fifth Congressional district (Story, Dallas, Polk, Madison, Warren, and Marion), Hull had won, however, but by the narrow margin of only 44 votes, which would indicate that the district leaned toward the progressive point of view.⁹

Cummins welcomed the opportunity of exchanging blows with Cannon before an Iowa audience. Upon his return to Iowa, the Senator had addressed several gatherings, defending his stand in the recent session and proposing a program for the progressives. Naturally he was eager to widen the scope of attention he was receiving. Therefore he went to Knoxville with the determined purpose "to kick up a row. . . ."¹⁰

From the beginning of his speech this aggressive spirit was evident. He told the audience that, although he had been too young to enter the Civil War and too old for the Spanish-American War, and therefore had never been in battle, yet he recognized how the soldiers in the poem "The Charge of the Light Brigade" felt:

Cannon to the right of them,
Cannon to the left of them,
Volleyed and thundered.

⁸ Cedar Rapids *Evening Gazette*, Oct. 6, 1909.

⁹ Knoxville *Journal*, Sept. 3, 1909.

¹⁰ Cummins to Albert J. Beveridge, quoted by Claude Bowers, *Beveridge and the Progressive Era* (Cambridge, Mass., 1932), 372-3.

Then, after paying an eloquent tribute to Iowa and its people, Cummins launched into a refutation of the stand taken by Cannon. First he attacked his defense of the rules of the House, arguing that a justification of an institution because it is old is no justification at all. Caustically he said: ". . . I am not going to bow down to any God simply because it was worshipped years ago and it is covered with a veil of antiquity." Six of ten Representatives from Iowa, he reminded his listeners, were among the "brave and adventurous spirits" who dared challenge "Uncle Joe's" power. He charged that Cannon had dominated legislation by controlling the Committee on Rules, giving as a specific example the Payne-Aldrich tariff in which the Speaker of the House had permitted a discussion of only seven out of five thousand items. To challenge Cannon was a sure way, he revealed, of losing a desirable committee appointment. Therefore, thundered Cummins, the Speaker "had the members in the hollow of his hand." Here was the fire and energy that made Cummins a force on the floor of the Senate. He had hit Cannon in a sensitive spot. To rub salt into the Speaker's wounds, he concluded with a rhetorical question: "When you send men down to Washington to represent the people of Iowa, don't you think they ought to have a right to express their opinions and their objections if they have them?"

Cummins believed that "A good offense is a good defense." Now that he had put his opponent on the defensive, he turned to justify his opposition to the Payne-Aldrich tariff. Avoiding a detailed analysis of the complex tariff schedules and a defense of the Senate insurgency, he resorted to the tricks of political oratory by playing upon the prejudices of his listeners. Aggressively he accepted Cannon's challenge by saying that he believed that "after the other fellow smites you on the cheek, the thing to do is to go right in and soak him on the solar plexus. . . ." Had he "practically joined hands with Bryan and the Democrats"? He affirmed his belief in protectionism and then charged that Cannon, Aldrich, and the standpatters were favoring the great corporations and the railroads. He knew his audience of farmers and miners would accept this assertion without proof. For twenty years he and other Iowa progressives had hammered on the relationship between high tariff and big business.

In conclusion Cummins restated his adherence to Republicanism: ". . . in doing as I did my heart was beating as true for the Republican party as ever it beat for family or friends. I never performed an act in my

life for which my conscience so completely justifies me as in voting against that bill. I want a Republican tariff measured according to the Republican platform and until I get it or approximate it, my vote will never be cast for a tariff bill."¹¹

The Knoxville controversy attracted considerable attention and editorial comment in Iowa and neighboring states. The remarks of Cummins were effective enough that Cannon deemed it necessary to reply in an address before the Illinois Mayors' Association at Elgin, Illinois, on October 19. Before an audience of sixty mayors from all parts of Illinois and twelve hundred residents of Elgin, he bitterly assailed the insurgents in general and Cummins and Robert M. La Follette of Wisconsin in particular.¹²

In the course of his address he related the story of his fight for re-election the previous November, explained why the insurgents were not Republicans, quoted statistics to prove that the West benefited more than the East under the new tariff law, attempted to show that the Speaker was not a czar but an ordinary presiding officer, and announced his approval of the Payne-Aldrich bill. In reference to the Knoxville controversy, Cannon declared:

I was in Iowa last week. It is an open secret there that Senator Cummins practically proposes to join with Bryan. . . . He says he will not stop until the tariff is revised according to his notion. It is an open secret that Senator Cummins is out in a campaign to defeat every congressman in his state who voted for that bill. . . . Now let's see. Two hundred Republican Representatives voted for that bill, and all Republican senators except seven. I ask whether the opposing Republicans or the rest and President Taft who signed it constitute the Republican party.¹³

In this statement Cannon's purpose was self evident: he was set upon driving the insurgents out of the party and upon bringing about their defeat in the coming election. In another portion of his address he made his stand clearer when he said the issue "appears to be whether the seven Senators and twenty members of the House who voted against the tariff constitute the Republican party or whether the majority of the Republican members of Congress and the President, who signed the bill, make up the Republican

¹¹ Des Moines *Register and Leader*, Oct. 7, 1909.

¹² Chicago *Tribune*, Oct. 20, 1909.

¹³ Elgin *Daily News*, Oct. 20, 1909.

party. These people, under the leadership of Senators Cummins and La Follette, call themselves Republicans, but if they are, then I am something else."¹⁴

The following night he again leveled his fire on Cummins, La Follette, and other insurgents by defending the new tariff in an address before the Union League Club at Chicago.¹⁵

The newspapers of Illinois and Iowa commented at length upon Cannon's Elgin address. Most of the Chicago papers summarized his remarks, playing up the angle that he had attempted "to read" Cummins, La Follette, and the insurgents out of the party.¹⁶ Iowa papers broadcast the news of this denunciation to their readers.¹⁷

In the meantime the Marquette Club, under the leadership of its president, Chester Arthur Legg, Chicago attorney, extended an invitation to Cummins to be the main speaker at their annual banquet, thus giving him an opportunity to answer Cannon. Mr. Legg had become interested in Cummins in 1908 when, as a correspondent for the *Boston Transcript*, he had written a series of articles on Iowa politics. At first Cummins was hesitant to accept this invitation. He explained his reluctance on the grounds that the Marquette Club was an "old conservative Republican Club" and since it was "his intention in a single speech to come out boldly against the party leadership in Washington, he preferred to do so in some place where the sentiment was likely to be more sympathetic with such a stand." However, after considerable urging from John P. Kennedy, a Chicago businessman, Cummins accepted the invitation.¹⁸

In the company of Mrs. Cummins, the Senator arrived in Chicago the morning of November 6, ready and eager to resume the battle with his Illinois adversary. During the day he was entertained by the committee and in the afternoon he was taken on an "automobile jaunt around the city." At noon, in a short talk to a group of former Iowans at the Hawkeye Club, he

¹⁴ *Senate Document No. 204*, 61 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 58; *Ottumwa Daily Courier*, Oct. 21, 1909.

¹⁵ *Ottumwa Daily Courier*, Oct. 22, 1909; *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, Oct. 21, 1909.

¹⁶ See issues of the *Chicago Tribune*, *Chicago Journal*, *Chicago Evening Post*, *Chicago Reporter Herald*, and *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, for Oct. 20, 1909.

¹⁷ See issues of the *Burlington Hawkeye*, *Cedar Rapids Evening Gazette*, *Davenport Daily Times*, *Oskaloosa Daily Herald*, and *Sioux City Journal*, for Oct. 20, 1909; *Sioux City Daily Tribune*, Oct. 19, 21, 1909.

¹⁸ Letter to author from Chester Arthur Legg, November 29, 1937.

touched on many points which he discussed in detail in his evening address and declared that in spite of the assertions of Cannon there were Republicans in Iowa.¹⁹

The banquet, held at the Marquette Club building, was attended by about three hundred. After the dinner the tables were removed in order that others could gain admission. Due to the limited seating capacity of the hall, the committee in charge had to refuse many applications.²⁰

The audience that Cummins faced was radically different from that at Knoxville. Iowa listeners had been farmers, miners, and inhabitants of Knoxville and the other small towns of the locality. They thought of tariff from the standpoint of farm products and consumer prices. They regarded large manufacturers, capitalists, and industrialists with suspicion.

In direct contrast to the Knoxville audience, Cummins now faced a group with urban interests. Among the three or four hundred persons gathered were some of Chicago's most prominent attorneys, merchants, brokers, manufacturers, doctors, newspapermen, and "the leading Republican politicians and party workers in and about Chicago."²¹ They were better informed upon national affairs, upon the tariff in general, and the Payne-Aldrich tariff in particular. They were interested in how the tariff would affect manufacturing, the railroads, the board of trade, the merchandising, and the general prosperity of the city dweller.

As was indicated by his reluctance to accept the Marquette Club invitation, Cummins recognized the importance of this speech. In an interview he had intimated that this would be "his most important public utterance" of the year and that he would outline the "insurgents' plan of campaign" for the coming session.²² He carefully planned his approach, for he knew that he was in the home state of his opponent before a decidedly more sophisticated group than he had faced at Knoxville.

Chester Arthur Legg, president of the club, served as toastmaster. Preceding the main address of the evening, William J. Calhoun, prominent Chicago attorney and member of the club, gave a ten or fifteen minute introductory talk, in which, among other things, he declared:

¹⁹ Ottumwa *Daily Courier*, Nov. 6, 1909.

²⁰ Des Moines *Register and Leader*, Nov. 6, 1909; Chicago *Inter-Ocean*, Nov. 7, 1909.

²¹ Letter from Chester Arthur Legg to author.

²² Ottumwa *Daily Courier*, Nov. 6, 1909.

Regardless of whether the Senator from Iowa is right or wrong in his contentions on the tariff schedules . . . I heartily agree with him that no man has any right to read him out of his party simply because he followed his conscience and voted as he thought right. If he has convictions that party is not following the right course, he has the right to call attention to it. . . . I say he did right not to submit to any caucus or to any coterie of self-assumed leaders.²³

Calhoun set the stage for Cummins. After humorously reviewing the beginning of the controversy, Cummins considered Cannon's charge that the insurgents had "joined hands with Bryan." He met emotional arguments with more emotional appeal, boasting that he represented a staunch Republican state and that it was the duty of the Iowa Republican voters, not the standpatters, to determine if the insurgents had violated the 1908 campaign promise. The Payne-Aldrich tariff had failed, he asserted, in that it did not represent "the difference between the cost of production at home and abroad." The weakness was due, he said, to the lack of an existing agency that could determine what was fair tariff. As a solution he proposed the creation of a tariff commission. Not satisfied with this suggestion alone, he briefly outlined what he considered a progressive program. He recommended reform in the banking system, extension of the Interstate Commerce Act, and additional legislation to control trusts and big business.²⁴

The Marquette Club address was heralded throughout the entire country as a fitting answer to the vituperations of Cannon and as a frank expression of progressive Republicanism. Recognizing the timeliness of Cummins' remarks, many Iowa papers carried full accounts of the affair and published all or a large part of what was said.²⁵ More important, this speech transferred the controversy from one of local concern to one of national interest. Cummins had reached a reading audience extending far beyond the Middle

²³ Chicago *Sunday Record Herald*, Nov. 7, 1909.

²⁴ Speech is presented in full in *Senate Document No. 204*. Cummins had presented this same program on September 14 to the Grant Club at Des Moines in his first speech after his return to Iowa from the special session. *Des Moines Capital*, Sept. 15, 1909.

²⁵ Burlington *Hawkeye*, Nov. 7, 1909; Cedar Rapids *Daily Republican*, Nov. 7, 1909; Cedar Rapids *Evening Gazette*, Nov. 7, 1909; Clinton *Daily Advertiser*, Nov. 8, 1909; Davenport *Daily Times*, Nov. 8, 1909; Dubuque *Daily Times Journal*, Nov. 8, 1909; Dubuque *Telegraph-Herald*, Nov. 6, 7, 1909; Fort Dodge *Messenger*, Nov. 8, 1909; Des Moines *Register and Leader*, Nov. 7, 1909; Sioux City *Journal*, Nov. 7, 1909; Sioux City *Tribune*, Nov. 6, 8, 1909.

West. The magazine *The World Today* called it "the declaration of independence of the insurgents. . . ." ²⁶ *Harper's Weekly* thought it sounded "the right note," and that it was "as simple as it is courageous." ²⁷ *The Nation* declared he had sounded the thoughts of "thousands of Republicans" disappointed with the Payne-Aldrich tariff. ²⁸ Many agreed that Cummins had securely established his position as a leader of the progressive element of the Republican party. ²⁹

In this series of speeches Albert B. Cummins became one of the foremost leaders of the progressive Republicans. Thanks to the invitation of the Knoxville citizens, he was permitted "to cross blades" with a foremost conservative, the much talked of Joseph Cannon, who, already angered by the opposition he encountered in the House of Representatives, took up the challenge. In his attempt to spank the junior Senator from Iowa, Cannon gave Cummins the opportunity he wanted. In a single address before a nationally known political club, Cummins was able to crystallize progressive thinking and to set forth a future program for his wing of the party. His Marquette Club speech also greatly contributed to making Senator Cummins presidential timber for 1912 and 1916.

²⁶ *The World Today*, 17:1241 (December, 1909).

²⁷ *Harper's Weekly*, 53:5 (Nov. 13, 1909).

²⁸ *The Nation*, 89:447 (Nov. 11, 1909).

²⁹ Mark Sullivan, "Editorial," *Colliers*, 44:15 (Nov. 27, 1909); William Allen White, "Insurgents and Their Work," *American Mercury*, 71:394-9 (July 1, 1911).

DOCUMENTS

ACROSS THE PLAINS IN 1863: THE DIARY OF PETER WINNE

Edited by Robert G. Athearn

Despite the military demands of the Civil War in the eastern United States, and in face of a threatening Indian situation in the West arising out of the war situation, the movement of peoples to the territories did not cease during the war years. Peter Winne, whose diary follows, noted that when he crossed the Missouri River in the spring of 1863, he observed a "large emigration for California, Idaho, Utah and Colorado." He was a part of a sharply increased traffic westward which was to become very large within the next few years. During the years 1863-1865 Russell, Majors and Waddell, the well-known freighters, were to have 6,250 wagons and 75,000 oxen¹ on the road, supplying the wants of those who had settled in the western territories. Along the trail with their wagons were thousands of homeseekers,² searching for new economic opportunities. This did not always mean precious metals, for there was much talk of favorable climates, virgin land, and commercial possibilities in the newly developed country. And if there was a magnet, drawing them on, there was also a pressure from behind, driving them. The war had disrupted many lives, and in some cases the clash of arms over their farms had literally driven many from their ancestral homes.

Peter Winne, not quite twenty-five, wanted to move on because, as he said, he "always had a desire to go farther west." Without any doubt hundreds of thousands of Americans participated in the westward movement for no better reason than this. Winne's father had moved westward from New York to Wisconsin in 1846 with the hope of finding a healthier place

¹ Lyle E. Mantor, "Stage Coach and Freight Days at Fort Kearny," *Nebraska History*, 29:336 (December, 1948).

² During the decade 1859-1869 there was an estimated floating population of nearly 250,000 on the Plains. "The biggest rush of overland traffic was from 1863 to 1866. The closing year of the civil war the travel was immense. . . ." Frank A. Root and William E. Connelley, *The Overland Stage to California* (Topeka, 1901; reprinted, Columbus, 1950), 314.

to live and one which might afford more economic advantages. He had died within ten years, leaving a wife and five children. The elder Winne's seventeen-year-old son, Peter, was now called upon to help support the family, which he did, until he married Lucy Parsons in 1860 and established a home of his own.

In the spring of 1863 Peter and Lucy Winne decided to move to California, in search of a more favorable climate, and with them went William H. Tibbils and his wife, Hannah, who was Peter's eldest sister. By the time the party got out to Julesburg, Colorado, some of the members decided that Colorado might offer more than California and it was determined then that they would swing south to the Denver region and try it for a year. Peter Winne lived in Colorado most of his remaining days and noted in his memoirs that, having later visited California, he was glad he had been persuaded to try Colorado first.

It was on this westward wagon trip that the diary, like so many others, came into existence. The original diary, presently in the possession of Walter Winston Winne, son of Peter, is the typical pencil-scrawled, cryptic account which records only the high points of the trip. Some time after arriving in Colorado Peter produced what he called a "copy" of the diary. It is not a copy, but a greatly expanded version of the journey, which, although done at a later date and therefore perhaps somewhat less valid, is a good deal more interesting and certainly more useful than the original effort. Possibly from other memoranda, and from recollection, Peter transformed the diary into more or less a diary-memoir. It is this work which has been here reproduced.

*The Diary*³

April 9, 1863. We started from Mothers home about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile NE of Eagle station on the Chicago Milwaukee & St Paul railway in Waukesha Co Wisconsin at 3 P M. Passed through the village of Eagle in going to the residence of James A. Parsons — Lucy's father.

We left father Parsons at 5 P M. It was a sad time the parting with our dear ones. Sheldon Parsons Lucys oldest brother accompanied us to Mr Tibbils fathers home 17 miles. We arrived at the residence of H. W. Tibbils . . . at 11 P. M. Were detained on the road a great deal to bid our many friends a good bye.

³ Made available to the editor by W. W. Winne and Dr. Robert L. Stearns.

We have a covered wagon an excellent new one, a good tent (not fully completed). The tent and wagon cover being made of No 2 duck sail that had been used a little a stove made of plate and sheet iron. The tent a 3 foot wall tent (Not yet fully completed). Our wagon made wide on the top of the box or bed projecting six inches on each side over the wheels, this gives us an abundance of room to sleep at night. Traveled 17 miles. Had four horses.

Friday April 10th. Rainy did not travel. Stopped at Mr. H. W. Tibbils, had a very pleasant time.

Saturday April 11th. Left Mr Tibbils at 9:30 A M. Passed through Delevan and some other towns. Rained some during the afternoon. Arrived at my cousins, John K. Pooles at 7 P M or rather his wife Elizabeth is my cousin being the oldest daughter of my uncle Garret Winne. Cousin Pooles home is on Turtle Creek, four miles north of Beloit Rock Co Wisconsin. Traveled 27 miles.

Sunday April 12. Did not travel. Stormed all night. A Mr A. M. Yost and family visited the Pooles. Stayed most of the day. They had a child about two years of age that pushed itself along on the floor in lieu of creeping. It stuck its tongue out and hissed like a snake. Stormed nearly all day.

Monday April 13th. As the gray horse we bought of Mr. Thomas was a slow walker, and not fast enough for our horses, we decided to trade with Mr Yost in order to get a better drawing team. The Bay horse we got of Mr Cole bothered this morning. Did not want to pull.

Started from Mr Pooles at 9 a m. Mr Poole accompanied us to Beloit, and introduced us to Messrs Blodgett & Farwell who have been across the plains several times and were outfitting again for California. They are not ready to start. We agreed with them as to the route we would take to Council Bluffs Iowa, and if they do not overtake us prior to reaching that point we will wait for them at that place.

Remained at Beloit all day to have a brake attached to the wagon. Had our Photograph (Ambrotypes)⁴ taken in our camping outfits. Camped here for the first time. Camped opposite the Hotel Beloit. Traveled 4 miles.

Tuesday April 14th. Resumed our journey at 8:30 A M. had a good night's rest. Passed through the villages of Rockton & Harrison Ill, and

⁴ Defined by Webster as "A picture taken on a plate of prepared glass, in which the lights are represented in silver, and the shades are produced by a dark background visible through the unsilvered portions of the glass."

passed one mile west of Durand. In the forenoon the Cole horse refused to pull again for a while. . . . We had used a noose on her putting it up over her head and around her tongue pulling up and back until her tongue was dark and when I gave her an opportunity to go ahead she went. . . . Passed through a fine country. The people where we camped were very kind to us insisted on our sleeping in their house but we did not. Sent us quite an amount of things from there [sic] house for our meals. Camped on the prairie. On the premises of a Mr. Smith. Traveled 25 miles.

Wednesday April 15th. We were on the road at 8:30 A M. Passed through the village of Dacotah at 11 A M. Old Lion a very reliable horse, that we purchased of Mr Thomas was taken sick on the road, about four miles north of Freeport. Delayed us about two hours. We thought he had colic. Afterwards learned it was Lung Fever the result of a cold caught at Pooles.

Reached our camping place, one mile West of Freeport at dusk. Camped in the road in front of the house of a Mr Best put two horses in his barn and two in a barn opposite. Old Lion was taken very sick again. You could hear him breath for some distance. I walked back to Freeport, procured a horse doctor. That was after ten o'clock P M. He was a Homeopath, and I came near discharging him when I found that to be the case. His medicine helped the horse almost immediately, to my great surprise. On my travels around Freeport to find a Horse Doctor I was impressed with the large number of dogs in Freeport. Never saw so many dogs in one town. Traveled 19 miles. Tibbils staid up with the horse all night.

Thursday April 16. The horse doctor called again this morning. Old Lion is much better. People very kind refused to take any pay from us.

Started on our journey shortly after noon. Trains of wagons having 32 horses passed us here (They were from Delevan Wis.) Horses are worth in California more than double what they are in Wis. or Ill. So people buy them drive or lead them through and get their pay in gold which is worth a premium from 30 to 150 per cent. (They buy them in currency). Camped on the prairie 11 miles west of Freeport. Traveled 10 miles.

Friday April 17th. Resumed our journey at 9 A M passed through the village of Mount Carroll. Camped on the farm of M Kinney. Mr K and his sons attended a meeting of the Union League at Mount Carroll tonight. . . . Old Lion taken very sick again. We had broken one bottle of the horse medicine, lost another and we did not know what to do. We appealed

to Mr K again and again for advice. His reply was there is no one here or in Mount Carroll that knows any more about a horse, than I do, and I do not know any more than you do. So we were unable to get any advice. We proceeded to act on our own lines.

We bled him, gave him Whiskey, Hot water & capsicum⁵ mixed. Rubbed Mustard plaster on his chest made ropes of hay and wound them around his legs to keep him warm rubbed him until he was in a complete lather, continuing to rub him until he was dry. Went to bed after midnight. We are very much discouraged fearing we may lose the horse, and we do not see how we can proceed without him as we do not have sufficient money to spare to purchase another. Traveled 20 miles.

Saturday April 18th. Did not travel on account of Old Lion being sick. Men leading 11 horses passed today for California as well as several wagons.

Sunday April 19th. Celebrated my 25th Birthday in Camp had some birthday cake given us before leaving home. Very windy. Did not travel.

Monday April 20th. On the road at 9 A M. All in good health and spirits. The horse seemed in good health and the condition of the horse contributed to our enjoyment. Arrived at Savanna on the Mississippi river at 11 A M in time for the noon ferry.⁶ Arrived at Sabula Iowa at 11:30 A. M. Rainy. In the afternoon we traveled over a rolling prairie. Camped on the farm of a Captain Morehead of the First Iowa Cavalry.⁷ This farm is in a very dilapidated condition. Traveled 19 miles. The country we passed through in Illinois has a very rich soil and is admirably adapted in every way for farming.

Tuesday April 21st. Resumed our journey again. Camped in the village of Maquoketa, is a beautiful place. Sprinkled some today.

April 22 & 23d & Part of Friday 24th. We spent in this place stopping at the hotel of Mr. J. E. Goodenow.⁸ We found that the Yost horse was

⁵ A pepper-like substance used as a counter-irritant.

⁶ A ferry had operated at Sabula in Jackson County since 1837. First a "scow," then a horse ferry had been used. In 1859-1860 a steam ferry, named the "76," was run by Jacob Oswald and Matt Hodgson. *History of Jackson County, Iowa . . .* (Chicago, 1879), 563.

⁷ There is no record of a Captain Morehead, First Iowa Cavalry, in the *Roster of Iowa Soldiers*. . . .

⁸ John E. Goodenow, "the father of Maquoketa," settled on the site of the future town in 1838. His first log cabin served travelers as an inn; in 1846 he built a frame house; two or three years later he constructed a brick hotel. He laid out the town

also too slow for our other horses, so we traded horses with Mr. G and as the wagon we started with was neither narrow or wide track and therefore did not fit the track in the road so we traded with Mr G — getting a wide track wagon, and we had to wait to let him change or rather repair his wagon. Mr G did this in good shape keeping us at his hotel (And it was a good one.) Had our first meals in a house here after leaving Cousin Pooles. We enjoyed it very much. He gave us the best rooms in the house. Treated us finely and we appreciated it very much. Became rested and became acquainted again with *Home Like Living*.

Friday April 24th 2 P M. Left Maquoketa. Traveled 14 miles, camped in the village of Monmouth.

Saturday April 25th. Started on our journey in good spirits, passed through the villages of Wyoming, Madison & Anamosa, the last named place is a very beautiful village.⁹ We purchased some fish (Red Horse,) on trying to eat them we were sorely disappointed. They were so full of fine bones. And although they looked nice it was almost impossible to eat them.

Camped 3½ miles west of Anamosa. It rained some and we backed our Wagon under a shed attached to and aside the barn. The people here are very kind to us, invited us into their house, and we spent some of our time in their home.¹⁰ . . . Traveled 30 miles.

Sunday April 26th. Did not travel. Several teams for California passed this point today. Rained some this afternoon. We have good stables for our horses. Are careful about that, fearing we may lose some of our horses by catching cold in these cold spring rains.

Monday April 27th. Rained last night. Also this forenoon. We did not start until afternoon, and it was sprinkling slightly when we started. Camped at Springville to have a longer tongue put in the wagon, as the one

of Maquoketa, donated building lots for public purposes, served as the first mayor, was assessor of Jackson County, and served in the Iowa General Assembly in 1849 and 1850. *History of Jackson County, Iowa* . . ., 630–32.

⁹ A visitor of 1858 was also impressed by the town. He commented on the graded streets, sidewalks, and houses "built of brick and in the most modern style." Jesse Clement, "Gleanings From the Note Book of the Itinerating Editor," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, 38:285 (July, 1940).

¹⁰ Inserted in the Diary as a note, "Saw the last Railroad Train at Anamosa." This was the Dubuque Western Railroad, which had been completed from Dubuque to Anamosa in 1860. In 1878 it became a part of the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul R. R. *History of Jones County, Iowa* . . . (2 vols., Chicago, 1910), 1:212.

in was too short for *our large horses*. It seems that we have to learn everything by trying and experimenting. . . . The change in the wagon tongue certainly was necessary.

Rained all night but we were very comfortable. The heavy duck canvas for tent & wagon cover, protected us thoroughly from the storm. We did not get wet or chilly. Traveled 10 miles.

Tuesday April 28th. Rained in the morning. Started at 10 A M. Passed through Marion and Cedar Rapids, camped 5 miles west of the latter place. The man where we camped charged us for everything, including the chips we burned in the stove to cook with. Was the closest man we have seen. *Traveled 21 miles.*

Wednesday April 29th. Resumed our journey at 7½ A M, passed through a great deal of unimproved country. Found some bad sloughs or springs. Those in the Iowa River bottoms being the worst. In one of these bad places the Cole horse refused to pull and I had to get out in mud and water knee deep. But as the horse saw me get the string out to use on her, she started and pulled the whole load out. Killed a hawk today the first thing I shot.

Our experience today has been new and strange we found some of the worst places on the highest ground. We found springs and the softest roads on the side of the hills, on the highest ground, and some times almost on the top of the highest ground. Some times we would leave the road which was soft for high ground only to find it worse than the road. This was a new revelation to us. And we decided to keep in the road in the future.

Passed through the village of Marengo. Did not get into camp until after dark. We were anxious to get across the Iowa Bottoms before it rained any more. As these bottoms are almost impassable in wet weather or rather after a long wet spell. The banks of the stream are low, the land flat and swampy. Found a large number of teams camped here. Traveled 25 miles.

Thursday April 30th. On the road again at 7½ A M. Passed through Brooklyn and Malcolm. Camped four miles South of Grinnell on the prairie. G is a new town [established in 1854] on the line of the Chicago & Rock Island Railway.¹¹ At Malcolm we left the rail road for good. We are

¹¹ Here is an illustration of the fact that Winne rewrote his original diary. In 1863 this was the Mississippi & Missouri Railroad Company; not until 1866 did it become a part of the Rock Island System. Dwight L. Agnew, "Iowa's First Railroad," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 48:26 (January, 1950).

told that this is as far west as the railway has reached at any point in Iowa. The rails had just been laid and no dirt placed between the ties and we had some difficulty in crossing the track with our wagon. Rail road track not laid to Grinnell yet we are told.

We shot some prairie chicken and relished them when cooked. Country sparsely settled. Let our horses stand out for the first time without [shelter]. Traveled 40 miles.

Friday May 1st. Cloudy started at 7½ A M. Passed through the village of Newton and camped 10 miles west. Have been traveling faster for the past two days as it is threatening to storm. And we are anxious to cross the Skunk River before there are any heavy rains as the banks of said stream are low the country flat and swampy the bottoms wide. It is said that in wet seasons it has often taken 100 yoke of oxen to pull an empty wagon across. [sic!] That people have frequently been delayed for about a month to effect a crossing.¹²

All the indications led us to beleive [sic] these stories we had heard about the conditions of the Skunk River bottoms and wet time. Traveled 25 miles.

Saturday May 2d. Passed through the village of Pope. Arrived at Des Moines at 4 P M, having been on the road since 7 A M. Found Des Moines a thrifty looking place. Saw Coal Mines for the first time in my life. People here informed us that the nearest railway was at a point near Grinnell about 140 miles easterly. On the C & R I R R. [Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railroad]¹³ Traveled 25 miles.

Camped in the yard of the Cooley House, a frame hotel just east of the river, and nearly west of the State Capitol Building.¹⁴ Saw some original

¹² The Skunk River Bottoms were a well-known hazard to travelers. "So famous was this bottom away back about Civil war days, that *Harper's Weekly* contained an illustration of crossing the 'Skunk Bottoms,' in which a stage coach loaded with passengers were sitting swamped in the mud, waiting for a pioneer farmer, who is seen approaching in the distance with a yoke of oxen to help the weary horses in pulling the coach to firm ground." James B. Weaver (ed.), *Past and Present of Jasper County, Iowa* (2 vols., Indianapolis, 1912), 1:28. Winne's story of 100 yoke of oxen seems an exaggeration, in spite of the reputation of the Skunk Bottoms. For another account of crossing the Bottoms, see Kenneth F. Millsap (ed.), "Romanzo Kingman's Pike's Peak Journal, 1859," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 48:62-3 (January, 1950).

¹³ See note 11. The distance of "140 miles easterly" is obviously an error.

¹⁴ This was the "old brick capitol," built shortly after Des Moines was selected as the capital city in 1856. It was 55 by 108 feet in size and served until the state government moved into the present building in 1884. Jacob A. Swisher, "Some His-

characters here. A mixture of people. We had the genuine Western man, the contraband (negro), a few Southerners and some pilgrims like ourselves. . . .

Sunday May 3d. Did not travel. Attended a Methodist Sunday School held in the State Capitol Building.¹⁵ It is the best one I have ever attended up to this time.

We hear a great many strange expressions used. Heard a genuine contraband get off[f] some in a forcible manner. There were two men Negroes and a small negro boy trying to drive some sheep and at a certain place the sheep would start back, passing between the boy and the fence, each sheep at that point would jump up about two feet in the air, this process was repeated two or three times, when one of the men exclaimed in a loud voice, "Watch Out There Yo," "If yo let dem sheep pass you agan I will wallop yo till yo eyeballs jingle." "Yo bet." "I'll be Doggoned if I don't." This was too much for me, and I was nearly convulsed with laughter.

By the time they had driven the sheep to the same point again I had recovered from the attack of laughter and Lucy & I assi[s]ted, and we succeeded in getting the sheep into the pen or corral and as they did not pass the boy again, we did not see or hear "The Boy's Eye Balls Jingle."

Another incident. A native Iowan was in the yard where we were and was telling some of his chums about his trip. He had a horse and cart and he persisted in calling it a ve-hac-le. We hear the words "Right smart" and "Right smart chance" used a great deal. "I have saw" for "I have seen" etc.

Monday May 4th. As one of our horses had caught cold and been sick from exposure to the cold and as we had reached a point where little if any more stabling could be procured for our horses, we discussed the propriety

toric Sites in Iowa," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, 32:254 (July, 1934). The Cooley House, then operated by N. B. Cooley, later became known as the Loper House, and was one of four hotels in East Des Moines in the 1860's. Cooley later turned his attention to the manufacture of bricks. J. M. Dixon, *Centennial History of Polk County, Iowa* (Des Moines, 1876), 161, 268.

¹⁵ Winne noted the following in his diary: "After leaving Des Moines we were informed that the man who was the superintendent of the Sunday School we attended was the person who at one time later was Secretary Harlan of President Lincoln's cabinet, and was at one time U. S. Senator from Iowa." It is entirely probable that Winne was correct. Harlan, an active Methodist, was the head of the Iowa Conference University (later Iowa Wesleyan) from 1853 to 1855. In 1860 he was elected U. S. Senator from Iowa and became Lincoln's Secretary of the Interior at the beginning of the latter's second term. Although Harlan was a Senator when Winne passed through Des Moines, Congress was not in session, and Harlan might well have been at the Sunday school mentioned.

of exchanging our horses for mules and decided to try to do it, beleiving [sic] that mules would endure the hardships of the long journey before us much better than horses. This necessity of change was apparrent [sic] to us as we have had no stabling for our horses for the last 150 miles. During the forenoon we made an exchange getting four youngish Brown mules, two of good size and two smaller ones.

We purchased chains and locks having a blacksmith fix rings on the chain so we could put one end around the mules neck, and the other end around the tire & felly of the wheel. Thus chaining one mule to each wheel. So that when we stopped for the night we could fasten our mules securely before retiring to rest, thus preventing the necessity of someone being up to watch them. And 12 M found us ready to move again. Traveled 18 miles.

Tuesday May 5th. At 7½ AM we made another start for our Western home. Stopped at Redfield to have our *Wagon Tongue shortened*. A week before we had a longer one put in. This time the tongue was too long for our mules. At any rate we are patronizing the inhabitants of the country on the line of our travels.

We have found everything quite cheap so far the benefits of railways to a country has been shown to us as we get away from them. We find farmers ready to leave their work, go some distance to their barns and sell us provisions and supplies at the following rates. Corn at 10 & 15 cts per bushel, Wheat at 15 or 20 cts, Eggs at 5 & 6 cents per dozen other articles in proportion and yet we are only about 200 miles from a R R. A Mr Smith of Des Moines with his wife and two men in their party camped with us. We like them very much.

They told us of a notice in the Des Moines paper about the costumes of sister, Lucy, saying they saw two ladies in the yard of the Cooley House also saw them shopping described their dress and commended the style as being very sensible, especially so, for ladies traveling or camping. They had short dress, came down nearly to the top of their shoes, bloomer pants made of the same material as the dress, were neatly and elegantly made, without surplus trimmings. The ladies were modest and lady like. *Had small feet* etc. etc. Why is not something of this style the better way for ladies to dress?

Tibbils and myself have navy blue shirts wool hats, usually wear neither coat nor vest, we find ourselves very comfortable.

At Beloit Wisconsin we had our ambrotypes taken in that style of dress,

and in that country people no doubt would properly say "We looked like freaks" "Cow Boys" or something of the kind. Traveled 16 miles today.

Wednesday May 6th. On the road again at 7:30 A M. Camped 3 miles West of Grove City. We had heard of this place for some time, expected to find quite a town and at least a few trees, imagine our surprise, at finding only one house and one tree. Western Iowa on our route is almost without exception a rolling prairie. Has a good soil, but is very sparsely settled.

Corn only ten cents per bushel, eggs 3 & 5 cents a doz and farmers begging you to buy at these prices. Grain here is almost worthless. They need a railroad, then there will be a future for this section. Traveled 29 miles.

Thursday May 7th. Left Camp at 7 A M. Camped on the prairie nine miles east of Lewis. Traveled 25 miles.

Friday May 8th. Resumed our journey at an early hour. Arrived at Lewis at 10 A M, spent the day in purchasing meats, Ham & Bacon, cost us 6 cents per lb. Had some repairs made to our wagon. Lewis is about 97 miles S W of Des Moines. Traveled 9 miles.

Saturday May 9th. Started at an early hour Traveled until 5 P M. Stopped on big Silver Creek. The next stopping place was Eight miles farther. Thought our mules to[o] tired to go that much farther. Yet we could not get but one feed of hay for our mules as hay is scarce in this section, and as the grass is not started, we will be compelled to travel tomorrow. Sunday morning we hitched up our team and traveled to within 1½ miles of Council Bluffs. Traveled Saturday 32 miles.

Sunday May 10th. We traveled as stated above to within 1½ miles of Council Bluffs. The Smith party caught some frogs and had a rare nice dinner. We tasted them, and liked them. It was the first time I ever tried to eat frogs. In the afternoon we drove into Council Bluffs. The distance from Lewis to Council Bluffs is 50 miles. Traveled 18 miles.

Monday May 11th, Tuesday May 12 and Wednesday May 13th until Noon. Spent in fitting up our wagon finishing the tent and replenishing our supplies, as every day revealed some new want. Our tent was never fully completed until we arrived here. Council Bluffs is not a very large place, but is a very busy one.¹⁶ We are surprised at the amount of business done here and at Omaha. This place seems to be doing the heaviest business. . . .

¹⁶ Edward L. Peckham, who visited Council Bluffs in 1857, thought it "a miserable looking place, with but one principal street, one half-mile long" but admitted that the place was booming and crowded with speculators. Edward L. Peckham, "A

Wednesday Noon May 13th. We started again going down the easterly bank of the Missouri River. Messrs Blodgett & Farwell arrived Sunday night and we decided to go to Sharpsburg opposite Plattsmouth and then cross the Missouri river to the last named place, thence take the South side of the Platte River to Julesburg Colo, thence across the South Platte and go North to Fort Laramie thinking we would get better feed (grass) for our animals as there is not as much travel on the South side of the Platte. Saw a river steamer wending its way up the river. It was a beautiful sight, it was some distance from us, and the river had a great many sand bars in it, and a great deal of the time we could not see the water around the boat, making it appear as if the boat was traveling through land. The water being low helped in making this delusion.

There are in our party 14 men, 4 children (all girls) and 4 women. Two of them being doctors wives going through to California to meet their husbands. Glad the party is not larger, as it [is] easier to get along peacefully with a small party; and we have enough for safety at least until we reach Fort Laramie.

The emigration west is heavy this year and the most of it going on the North side of the Platte.

We have 11 mules, 22 horses and 4 wagons including the B & F teams. Arrived at Sharpsburg after dark, roads sandy and rough in places. Traveled 20 miles.

Thursday May 14th. The Steam Ferry having been sunk we find an old flat boat without power. They had some horses & mules that they would pull the boat up the stream about a quarter of a mile then turn the prow of the boat quartering up the stream and let the boat float down the stream to the other side, and then this process would be repeated again on that side until all were over.

Took all day to get our party across. Were pleased when all were safely over, as the boat was an old hulk. *Camped in Plattsmouth.*

Friday May 15th. We are on the west side of the Missouri River for the first time. We see queer sights and strange faces.¹⁷ There is a large emmi-

Journey Out West," *The Palimpsest*, 6:243-4 (July, 1925). See also Walker Wyman, "Council Bluffs and the Westward Movement," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 47:99-118 (April, 1949).

¹⁷ Perry Burgess, who passed through Plattsmouth three years later, said it was "a dirty place and drinking, fighting, etc. are the principle amusements, there was two shooting brawls during my stay there." Robert G. Athearn (ed.), "From Illinois

gration [sic] for California, Idaho, Utah & Colorado. The most of it is for California, also quite an amount for Colorado. Most of the travel is outfitted between Leavenworth Kansas and Omaha. Council Bluffs, Omaha, Plattsmouth, Nebraska City & St Joseph Mo do the most of it.

Nearly all this travel takes the Platte route, a little going over the Republican or Smoky hill routes. The California travel reaches the Platte near Fort Kearney, a large portion of that crossing the Platte there, some going up on the South side so far as Julesburg, a portion of that going Northerly to Fort Laramie, the balance going up Lodge Pole Creek.¹⁸

Price of provisions and supplies are higher at Plattsmouth than in Iowa. So we will purchase of farmers. All we need is eggs and butter, and we have a fair supply of the latter article.

Left camp to day at 8 o'clock A. M. All well. Traveled over a rolling prairie. Camped at Salt Creek, a new place only three houses. Eggs 20 cts per dozen. Did not buy any. Traveled 30 miles.

Saturday May 16th. Broke camp at 8 A M. Passed over a rolling prairie. Did not see any timber after leaving camp.

Camped at a so called farm house. People in Wisconsin would not call this much of a farm soil did not look good, only had three acres under cultivation.

This was the first farm we saw after leaving camp in the morning. Therefore we did not have a chance to get either eggs or butter until we arrived here. And now prices have doubled.

They call these places Ranches in this country, and many of them have bars to sell a cheap grade of Whiskey, and also some of them have tobacco, a little sugar & coffee to sell. Traveled 25 miles.

Sunday May 17th. Messrs Blodgett & Farwell were determined to travel to day. Notwithstanding their positive agreement with us, both at Beloit, and Council Bluffs, *not to travel on Sunday*. But as it is not considered safe to travel alone here, so we go with them leaving camp at 9 A M. Stopped at 5 P M. No unusual incidents on the road. Traveled 25 miles.

Monday May 18th. Two Pawnee indians passed near our camp this morning, having their ponies packed with their camp equipments and game.

to Montana in 1866: The Diary of Perry A. Burgess," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, 41:47 (January, 1950).

¹⁸ "The Pole Creek travel entered the mountains not far from where Cheyenne is now located." Note inserted in Diary.

These are the first indians we have seen. Left camp at 9 A M. Traveled until 5 P M.

Tuesday May 19th. Started on our journey at 8½ A M. Passed over a rough country known frequently as the Sand hills, there were a great many wash outs & "Buffalo Wallows."

The wind blew furiously blowing small stones, and sand and the effect was about as severe as a hail storm combined with wind.

Wednesday May 20th. Left camp at an early hour; found some rough roads. Mr. Blodgett broke two spokes in one of the wheels of his wagon. The wind was blowing a gale the dust flying and it was almost impossible to avoid the rough places in the road. Wind blowing harder than yesterday.

About One o'clock we found smoother roads, had gotten out [of] the sand hills by this time.

We repaired the wagon by putting in false spokes aside the old ones and fastening them to the old ones with wire.

Camped on the Platte river for the first time. There are [a] great many Sand bars in the river. It is claimed the Platte is ¾ of a mile wide at this point. Water very roily. Do not know the distance traveled to day. The Country new and everything looks strange to us.

Thursday May 21st. Resumed our journey in good spirits. Rained a little as we were getting ready to start. Cleared up shortly after. Camped at 6 P M on the Platte.

Friday May 22nd. Rained during the night; and in the morning we had a heavy shower, very cold; we put the stove in the tent to cook with, also found it very necessary for comfort. It was the first time we deemed it necessary. This incident showed that we were wise in making provisions for such contingencies. The Blodgetts & Farwells simply had a cold breakfast. No coffee and aside from that were wet & cold and we were warm & dry. . . . Did not leave camp on account of the rain until 10:30 A M.

I stood guard last night in the rain and caught cold. By standing guard I mean watching the horses and mules, to prevent their being stampeded by animals or stolen by thieves or indians, also to prevent the animals injuring themselves, as we picketed them out. This is done by putting a rope around the animals neck (The rope is usually about 30 feet long) and the end is fastened to an iron pin driven into the ground. Some times an animal becomes tangled up in the rope, and they will kick and struggle until they injure themselves, and in some instances causing death.

This camp is about 5 miles east of Kearney Junction on the Platte river. Heard many small foxes or swifts barking they seemed to be a long way off, and at first I thought we were at no great distance from a farm house, their barking sounded like roosters crowing at a distance. But I was mistaken again. The feed or grass is good and has been since leaving Salt Creek. Traveled 28 miles.

Saturday May 23d. Our road at Kearney Junction intersected the road from Nebraska City, St Joseph Etc. . . . We passed that place making only a short stop and going on to Kearney City to have Mr Blodgetts wagon repaired, left there at 5 P M, and camped a short distance from that place. Nebraska City, Plattsmouth and Omaha are about equally distant from this point nearly 210 miles.¹⁹ St Joseph & Leavenworth are about 100 and 80 miles farther. Distance traveled variously estimated at from 15 to 17 miles.

While waiting to have Mr B wagon repaired, the sheriff, an ignorant and bombastic son of the Emerald Isle came from the North side of the Platte with a train of several wagons. We are informed that this party started from some point in Missouri, that before starting they elected a Captain for the train or party, that this Captain had also been a Captain in the Union Army, and that after crossing the Platte there had been some disagreement, there the Captain dumped the personal effects of one man on the ground, leaving the man and his effects on the river bank.

The party left came back across the river, had the Captain and the train brought back. We were present when the sheriff in a pompous manner demanded the Captains revolvers. The Captain was willing to give them up if the sheriff would also take the arms away from the party causing his arrest and return. Of course the sheriff could not do that. After considerable parleying the Captain surrendered his arms. A trial was had and the Captain beaten or rather lost the suit.

After the trial the sheriff returned the revolvers to the Captain and the Captain shot the sheriff dead. Then the man who caused the Captains arrest immediately shot the Captain dead. Everybody goes armed in this country, the result being a great deal of unnecessary shooting & killing.

In this case there are two dead men and I am not able to see any reason or cause for it. Men seem ready to shoot on the least provocation. "Such

¹⁹ "From Nebraska City the distance to Fort Kearny was 200 miles, and from Plattsmouth, 185." Mantor, "Stage Coach and Freighters Days at Fort Kearny," 334.

is life on the plains in these times." . . . Traveled to a point two miles north of Kearney City.²⁰

Sunday May 24th. It is Sunday again and we naturally expected a day of rest. But alas, we are disappointed [*sic*] once more. The camp alive with preparations to move again. And away we go again. Too Bad! Another plain violation of the agreement made with us before leaving Council Bluffs, not to travel on Sunday. And as it is not considered safe to travel alone through this country . . . we concluded to go with them.

[Monday] At the camp we made last night the Buffalo stamped [stamped] six of Messrs Blodgetts & Farwell horses, notwithstanding we had a guard out.

How much we have gained by traveling on Sundays may be seen by the time lost in repairing the Blodgett wagon. And in this instance we will have to wait until the horses can be found. But for traveling on Sunday the 17th we would not have been in the Sand on that fearfully windy day. Had it not been for traveling yesterday we would not have been at Plum Creek²¹ last night when the Buffalo crossed. But what is the use of Moralizing.

Messrs B & F telegraphed²² and enquired of the teams & the Stage Coaches for the horses, Mr Farwell then started with two men and some horse[s] to follow the trail of the runaway horses.

Monday May 25th & May 26th. Spent in the same camp waiting for information about the lost horses and deciding what to do. In the meantime the horses had been heard from 72 miles South & East on the Blue [River] & Mr Farwell and his son started after them, having returned from trying to trail them. We are to start to morrow again traveling slowly so that the Farwells can overtake us.

Now how much have we gained by our Sunday traveling? We have traveled two Sundays laid still over two and a half days. And will have to go slow for a few days.

²⁰ Had Winne known a little more of the reputation Kearney City (or Dobytown, as it was also called) had attained, he might not have been quite so surprised at the lawlessness in that area. Kearney City, located near Fort Kearny, seems to have done a thriving business dispensing whiskey to local visitors as well as to transcontinental travelers. It was as rough and bawdy as any stop on the trail.

²¹ To become better known in the next year as the site of the Plum Creek Indian massacre.

²² By October 24, 1861, a telegraph line connecting New York and San Francisco had been completed. Lyle E. Mantor, "Fort Kearny and the Westward Movement," *Nebraska History*, 29:200 (September, 1948).

On Monday night took my turn again in standing guard. Had not been on duty over one half hour before the animals began to be frightened again by Buffalo in the river crossing to the South side.

In order if possible to prevent another stampede of our animals I called up some of the men to help me quiet and hold our animals. . . .

While on the road Sunday afternoon a strange incident occurred, or rather an incident occurred that convinced me we were in a strange country, with strange or new surroundings. We had been aware from several sources that there were a great many Confederates on the road. But the incident to be related fastened the information more permanently and positively on my mind.

We were not loaded very heavily had good teams, and were traveling faster than the ox teams, or heavily loaded horse and mule teams, and it was quite common to have the people who were going slower to ask us for news. And on this day shortly after the battle of Chancellorsville, a great tall slim Missourian dressed in a suit of Butternut colored jeans (This by the way was a typical suit for them) came up to our wagon I was driving, and he propounded the following question. "Say Mr any news from the fight?" Alluding to the battle of Chancellorsville, I replied yes there had been a great battle and our troops have been badly beaten, (We had learned this news at Kearney). He then stepped back, returning in a few moments, peeping into the front of the wagon again and saying "Say Mister Who Do You Mean by Our Troops."

Then it dawned on me more fully *Where We Were!* And what our surroundings were. No doubt we saw every day more Confederates than Union people. And the distance from home, and the character of our associates were now more vividly impressed on our minds.

Wednesday May 27th. Left camp at 9 A M. Camped on the Platte near a lot of Cheyenne indians. It is claimed that there are several hundred of them. . . . Traveled 20 miles.

Thursday May 28th. Wood scarce sold by the pound every party tries to carry their own wood. Frequently they get out. When you wish to buy it is sold by the pound.²³ Feed very poor, drove about two miles from the road before we found any. Referring again to the fuel in many instances

²³ "There is no timber along here at all," wrote a traveler in 1866. "Wood sells for \$100 per cord." Elizabeth Keyes, "Across the Plains in a Prairie Schooner," *Colorado Magazine*, 10:76 (March, 1933).

people burn "Buffalo Chips." In dry weather they can be utilized quite successfully, after a fire is started with wood.²⁴ . . . Traveled 30 miles.

Friday May 29th. Left camp late as Mr Farwell & son returned with the stray horses just as we were ready to start. Glad to see them. Traveled until very late. Do not know the distance. I stand guard again tonight.

Saturday May 30th. Left camp at an early hour and traveled until very late.

Sunday May 31st. Left camp at an early hour and traveled until 5 P M. I have not been feeling well for some time.

Our camp is near a party who are driving a lot of milk cows. Told me I could have some milk if I wished it, thought it an excellent idea to get some. The offer was promptly and thankfully accepted, and I returned to our camp with some of that article. Was taken violently ill, laid down. Did not eat anything neither did I drink any milk. Mr Blodgett was quite well posted as to what to do in such cases and the two physicians wives in our party also seemed to be, they gave me some thing that night.

Monday June 1st. We traveled about 40 miles. My head ached and I had some fever. Did not eat anything. Mr B and the two ladies called to see me and they gave me Quinine & capsicum mixed with Brandy, thought I had billious fever.

Tuesday June 2d (Now in Colorado). Made a short drive and reached the Ford about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile below Julesburg Colo.²⁵ Most of the day spent in crossing the river. We found the crossing not very good. I was not able to get out of my bed but staid in the bed in the wagon; before proceeding to cross they took levers and raised the wagons box or bed up almost to the top of the wagon stakes on the bolsters, put blocking under the box; then chained the whole down to the axles of the wagon; this to prevent the water which was high in places from getting in to the contents of the wagon and damaging the same.²⁶

²⁴ "In later years I have known of wood selling as high as two cents per pound on the Plains. Have heard of its bringing more." Note inserted in Diary.

²⁵ Described in 1866 as "a small place of 8 or 10 houses but the best I have seen since leaving the Missouri — real frame houses, two stories and shingled. . . ." W. H. Jackson, "The Steam Wagon Road, 1866-1932. W. H. Jackson Diary," *Nebraska History Magazine*, 13:153 (July-September, 1932).

²⁶ One who crossed in 1866 said, "The bottom of the river is composed of quick sand and in going across the wheels of the wagons raise up then drop suddenly down which shakes the wagons as if driving over a log way. It took nearly all day to get the stock and wagons across." Athearn (ed.), "From Illinois to Montana in 1866 . . .," 53.

Tried to cross with our own teams. At one time four horses belonging to our party were down and two of our four mules, so we hired some ox teams to haul us across. They were moving from the North side and took us over to that side very cheaply. In some of the deep places in the river one third or one half of the oxen would be swimming at the same time, think we had twenty yoke on our wagon. On reaching the north side we saw a stampede of work oxen and other cattle, that had been turned out to graze, (never knew what frightened them). They ran furiously and it took a number of men on horseback some time to stop them. They came near running into our camp. It is claimed that the most of the oxen we meet have had nothing to eat all winter but native grass and have been wintered near the mountains. They look well.

In camp. Tibbils, sister, Lucy and three brothers, by the name of Harmon from Beloit Wisconsin (named Levi, Edward & Dana Harmon) are discussing the propriety of our going to Denver in lieu of California. The Harmons are anxious to go, as we have been hearing good reports of the country. Then there was some fear that I might have Mountain fever. . . .

It was decided that in the morning we would re cross the river and stay in Colorado for One Year at least.²⁷

Wednesday June 3d. The rest of the train has gone on and left us alone. We felt sad after they left, and we had said the words of parting. All but one were very nice people, and we felt lonely in a strange land. The one mentioned as an exception to the rest was never disagreeable to us but he was to his partner & son.

We hired some men with seven yoke of oxen to draw our wagon back to the south side (They were engaged in drawing their wagons to the North side and were going back without anything, charged us \$3.00). The Ford where we crossed [is] about one half mile above Julesburg Colo. It is said to be about 100 miles to Fort Laramie. Our party consists of Levi, Edward & George Dana Harmon, and Tibbils, wife, Lucy and the babies and myself. All have been quite well on the trip save Tibbils and myself. T has been only slightly indisposed, but I have been compelled to keep [to] my bed for two or three days.

²⁷ "This no doubt was a wise conclusion as we have visited California a number of times since. Once with a view of locating there. But thought we liked Colorado better. For me especially the Colorado climate seems better than that of California." Note inserted in Diary.

After crossing the river only drove six miles, so as to favor myself. Wind blew a gale. . . .

Thursday June 4th. Traveled 25 miles. Being ill with fever I did not keep any diary until my arrival in Denver, when I wrote down some of the incidents.

Saturday June 13th. At about 10 A M. we drove into Denver. We had a pleasant trip from Julesburg. In fact the whole of the way. We did not drive fast, neither did we travel far in any one day always stopping in the middle of the day, and camping before it was dark.

At a point known . . . as the Junction²⁸ . . . we took the road known as the Cut Off to Denver leaving the Platte Route. We did not travel on Sunday June 6th. While in camp about 10 A M Friday about 30 miles from Denver, H. P. Bennett²⁹ [sic] the Delegate to Congress from Colorado with his family passed us they drove through that day, and we drove to Coal creek about ten miles from Denver. We had caught a young Antelope and on meeting Mr Bennett in Denver he recollected us and called us the "Antelope men."

After the party reached Denver there was some indecision as to what the next moves might be. Winne recorded that "for a few days I herded stock for C R Hartman, Tibbils *Looking around & Talking*." Shortly after that Tibbils and his wife moved on to Santa Fe, while the Winnes accepted the invitation of an old friend from Wisconsin, who had been in Colorado since 1859, to come to his farm north of Denver until a permanent location might be found. The new arrivals now sold their share in the road equipment, keeping only about a four months' supply of food and a few household necessities. This brought them \$470 in cash and within a few weeks they found a 160-acre farm in the Greeley area which could be had for \$150. Winne was superintendent of schools in Weld County, delegate to the constitutional convention (1864), and a representative to the territorial legislature (1866). In 1867 he moved to Denver where he remained until his death in 1916.³⁰

²⁸ Present Fort Morgan.

²⁹ Hiram P. Bennet was first elected a delegate to Congress in 1861 on the Republican ticket. He was re-elected the following year, defeating ex-Governor William Gilpin. After the expiration of this term he returned to private life in Denver and in 1869 Grant appointed him as postmaster of Denver.

³⁰ *History of Colorado* (Denver, 1927), 495.

EXCERPTS FROM THE CIVIL WAR DIARY OF LIEUTENANT
CHARLES ALLEY, COMPANY "C,"
FIFTH IOWA CAVALRY

Edited by John S. Ezell

One of the most trying periods in a new recruit's life is the training interval preceding his active service. During this time he must make the transition from civilian to soldier, adapt himself to new modes of living and patterns of thought, exchange independence for army discipline. For many men the threads of the past are loosened only after bitter internal conflict, during which the citizen-soldier learns much about himself and his fellow man.

The following extracts¹ from the unpublished diary of Charles Alley show the reactions of a young, well-educated, Irish immigrant to this experience. Alley, a resident of Nebraska Territory, volunteered for service and was sent to Benton Barracks, St. Louis, Missouri, where his company was formed into the unit known as "The Curtis Horse." On February 6, 1862, the group left St. Louis for Cairo, Illinois, to join the Army of the Cumberland, under General U. S. Grant. On June 25, 1862, "The Curtis Horse" was assigned to the state of Iowa and Alley's group was designated Company "C" of the Fifth Iowa Cavalry. He served for the remainder of the war, rising from the rank of private to that of second lieutenant.² The selections cited cover, roughly, the first six months of his military career and the period of his apprenticeship as a fighting man. Since he was extremely religious, the only excisions made deal with personal aspects of his religious life.

October 9, 1861. Went on with some others also going to volunteer.

¹ These extracts are made possible through the courtesy of the author's daughter, Mrs. F. B. Alford, Seattle, Washington, who graciously placed the diary at my disposal, and of the grandson, J. N. Alley, Department of Modern Languages, University of Oklahoma, who called it to my attention.

² For a record of the members of the Fifth Iowa Cavalry and the Fifth Cavalry Consolidated, see *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers . . .* (6 vols., Des Moines, 1910), 4:845-1112. For Charles Alley, see pp. 870 and 1020.

Oct. 10, 1861. Called on a family near Plattsmouth [Plattsmouth, Nebraska] which has two members in the army. The mother a pious woman told us she was willing to work out of doors — & she was at it making molasses — & let all the men go to defend our government against its enemies. Exhorted us while we stood up in defense of our country to be good subjects of our heavenly fathers Kingdom. Reached Omaha & had a pleasant time with McHart, a dear friend & a faithful minister of Jesus Christ, who did not fail at his house & after at evening prayer meeting in the church to address myself & others on the necessity of being prepared to meet our God. May God for Christ's sake bless these warnings to our eternal benefit. . . .

11th. Took the oath of allegiance to the United States Government & to obey my officers. May I be enabled to obey it in the letter & in the spirit. God grant that I may make at the same time a brave & a gentle soldier & honest upright Christian man.

12th. Marched from the capitol to the Herndon house & were presented with our colors by the Ladies of Omaha and an address by Lawyer Poppleton,³ calling on us to defend to the last extremity the colors we had just received. After this the volunteers gave three cheers for the Ladies of Omaha & the citizens responded with three cheers for our men, when we took up our march for Council Bluffs. Here Lieutenant [William] Kelsey⁴ got into an altercation with one of the citizens who drew a revolver threatening to shoot him when the Lieutenant got one from a companion & shot him on the spot. Such was the wretched end of a day so auspiciously commenced. O Lord for Jesus sake enable us all to control our evil passions.

13th Oct. 1861. Sunday. Marched 10 miles from C. B. & encamped on a small stream. What a Sunday to spend just the same as any other day. Oh how little we care for our privileges till we lose them. How I wished for a chance to go up to the House of God in company with my friends & take sweet counsel with them, thus escaping the profanity of the camp but I

³ Omaha was the capital of Nebraska Territory, and Herndon House was the residence of the governor. The lawyer referred to was probably A. J. Poppleton, the leading lawyer of Omaha, its mayor in 1858, and a member of the first territorial legislature. J. M. Woolworth and W. S. Poppleton, "Biography of Andrew Jackson Poppleton," Nebraska State Historical Society, *Proceedings and Collections* (second series), 2:94-110 (1898).

⁴ William Kelsay (not Kelsey) of Omaha, 1st Lieut. of Co. A, 5th Iowa Cavalry. See *Roster of Iowa Soldiers* . . . , 4:863, 932.

could not there being no meeting in the neighborhood but a Mormon one just closing.

14th Oct. 1861. Marched today 13 miles encamping on the west fork of the Nishnebotona [Nishnabotna].

15th. Marched 13 miles farther & encamped again on a small stream. Last night some of the men stole some chickens & had quite a feast. How wicked! Going to hazard their lives in war & steal. God grant that they may feel their wickedness and repent.

16. Reached Lewis, the county seat of Cass co; 50 miles from C. B. Here I was walking about by myself singing a familiar hymn in the evening when I was addressed by a citizen of the place who was in the camp, with the remark, "You have been where Methodists sing." I answered in the affirmative, that I was a member of the M. P. Church. A pleasant conversation followed, & he exhorted me to continue firm in the faith. He told me he was a member of the M. E. Church; how pleasant to meet a brother in a stranger.

17. Marched today 15 miles.

18. ——— 15 miles.

19. Marched 19 miles. Last night the men made a regular marauding expedition killing sheep chickens pigs &c. We are all of opinion that Capt. Patrick⁵ in command of Company A & in charge of B. & C. is allowing it all — he last night gave the countersign to the orderly Sergt. of Co. A, who took a large party of men on the stealing march. It is openly stated he shared the plunder of the men about Omaha.

Oct. 21, 1861. Here we are at Winterset a pleasant town about 125 miles from Omaha having arrived here yesterday after a march of about 20 miles — Sunday marching — the only way we observed the day was by marching a few miles farther than we did any other. I went up to the Methodist E[piscopal] Sunday School in the afternoon. In the evening most of us attended service at the New School Presbyterian Church. We had a very good sermon, & I am glad to say that it was listened to attentively.

And now I must say a few words on the pleasures & pains of camp life. It is very pleasant in fine weather & quite the reverse in wet. In the morning before day we generally have breakfast. It is quite a sight to see the dark forms of the men moving among the white tents & the bright fires. The

⁵ Matthewson T. Patrick of Omaha, Captain of Co. A. *Ibid.*, 4:863, 1017. Patrick was promoted to Lieutenant Colonel of the regiment, Nov. 13, 1861.

cooks stooping over their pans & pots, now rubbing their eyes smarting from the smoke; now drawing back suddenly as the wind drives a burst of flames in their faces; all this with the others moving round in anxious waiting for the call to breakfast with their forms now bright as the fires flame up, now dark as it dies away; makes quite an animated scene. Well breakfast comes at last, & then there is a general scramble as there are not enough cups, plates, &c., and nobody hardly wants to be last. Presently all are eating with the keen relish caused by such an open air life. Those who are to go on guard, hurriedly for fear of the Bugle calling them to their posts before finishing. But hark! The bugle! Plates cups &c., are thrown aside, a grumble or two, a muttered imprecation or more likely a volley of them & the guards fall in and are marched to their posts. But there is one comfort, as comrades will take each one's place and let him finish after a while so the disappointment is only temporary. Saturday last a number of us had a pleasant time singing hymns together. We are hoping soon to have a regular prayer meeting established. God grant that it may be a means of good.

Oct. 22, 1861. Yesterday we had a day to rest — in lieu of Sunday, I suppose, at least so much of it as was not taken up in two dress parades & preparations for them. Today we marched about 20 miles through a fine rolling prairie with a better supply of timber than I have yet seen. Our course was on the north of Middle River, a stream running towards the east. Day cold and cloudy wind north. Today I stayed in bed till daylight & so had no chance to retire for private prayer. . . .

Oct. 24. Yesterday we marched about 12 miles & stopped at a pleasant village called Indianola. Our course was through a fine rolling prairie well settled, & a good share of timber. A good deal of comfort appears to be enjoyed by the people in comparison of those farther west.

A number of the young ladies came into the camp to see — as they said how soldiers lived. They appeared to be quite interested in everything they saw. They said that four companions had left there for the war. They said they had not seen so many soldiers at once before. They appeared to be very intelligent and some of them were well educated.

Today we have come 16 miles through a better settled & better wooded country than any I have seen before. A number of young groves of timber & orchards are scattered over the country giving it quite a homelike appearance. We passed a little village on our way, Sandyville, & are now encamped at Pleasantville.

Oct. 26th, 1861. Yesterday we left Pleasantville & marched about 16 miles nearly all the way through a timbered country, being close to the Des Moines River. Day pleasant. Passed through the town of Knoxville, a pleasing village as indeed all of these we have passed lately are.

Today we resumed our march & reached the Des Moines at Belle Fontaine where we crossed — the mounted men fording, the rest of us being ferried over. Four miles farther we reached a village called Rochester & encamped, making about 15 miles. A couple of our mess (the first) being up in the village some people insisted on their staying for dinner & sent them back to us with quite a present. Some first rate biscuits, milk, & molasses which being added to our mess fare, made a capital dinner. This was our first piece of kindness since we started. The nights are mostly cool & frosty but the past few days have been delightful.

Oct. 29, Sunday. I obtained leave to go on before to Eddyville, which was about twelve miles distant. I reached there about 10 o'clock & went to the M. E. Church. After service our boys having come up, I went to the camp. After dinner I went to the Congregational Sunday School & was invited into the Bible class, a piece of politeness I must say I have never met in the Methodist Church. They had a very good school. In the evening I attended service there. Altogether I spent a pleasing Sabbath.

I could not help thinking how pleasant it was to escape from the profane influence of the camp to spend a few hours again in the assembly of those who meet together to worship God, nor lamenting my own carelessness in neglecting to improve my former privileges.

God grant that I may be faithful in all coming time. The ladies from the Church came to our camp & offered to bake bread for us or do anything they could, saying they knew we would be sure to have enough of hardship to meet, & they thought it their duty to do what they could for us who were going to defend their liberties. It was an offer gladly accepted, for we had no means of baking good bread.

Here ended our foot march & we have had great reason to be thankful to our Heavenly Father for His goodness to us; for we have not had one shower of rain in the day time & only enough twice at night to lay the dust. The weather being on our whole march extremely beautiful for the season. Yesterday we came to Keokuk, on the railroad 92 miles,⁶ arriving about an

⁶ The Des Moines Valley R. R., originally the Keokuk, Des Moines & Minnesota R. R., had been completed from Keokuk to Eddyville in 1857, where further con-

hour after sunset; we marched at once to the wharf & went on board the steamboat *Die Vernon*,⁷ for Saint Louis. Started this morning & are now (5 o'clock) at Hannibal awaiting the express train from St. Joe [St. Joseph, Missouri], when we start for St. Louis, which we hope to reach tomorrow morning.

30 Oct. Today we reach St. Louis about 8 o'clock and we were marched directly to Benton Barracks, where we now are. The part of the camp where we are quartered is laid off in the form of a square; a long line of sheds on each side of it for the soldiers, back of these are the kitchens & sheds for the soldiers to eat in. Altogether it looks as if it would do very well for men who are soon to take the field to live in. Thus ends our first stage. . . .

Sunday, Nov. 10th, 1861. I have been here now for some time and I must confess I find things worse than I expected. Oh! what wickedness, evil in every shape, moral degradation everywhere showing itself. Close to so large a city as St. Louis where there are so many Christian Societies & we have no visit from one of them. & what a field for the Christian philanthropist. So many men gathered together to fight in their country's cause and almost no effort to lead them to Christ. One sermon on a Sabbath afternoon. How much good might be done here by a few tracts or other good books. God grant that the pious people of St. Louis may be stirred up to look after the spiritual good of the poor soldier. . . .

Nov. 13, 61. Things have been quite busy in camp thus far this week. Training of horses to run up on the muskets and to the mouths of the cannons, while firing and also being drawn up in line when the foot would charge on them with muskets & fixed bayonets. They have been some time used to hearing the artillery at a distance. Also, but not so much, the musketry. It is surprising how well they stand all the noise, &c. From these movements I would infer that they must be preparing these troops for the field. Troops are coming in and going out almost constantly. Fremont has

struction was halted until after the Civil War. This road is now a part of the Rock Island System. Nelson C. Roberts and Dr. S. W. Moorhead (eds.), *History of Lee County, Iowa* (2 vols., Chicago, 1914), 1:239.

⁷ "Keokuk was a grand rendezvous for the army during the Civil War; scores of steamboats departed from the Iowa town for St. Louis and points below. . . . Keokuk almost daily dispatched companies southward aboard such boats as the *Jeanie Deans*, the *Die Vernon*, the *Hannibal City*, and the *Jennie Whipple*." William J. Petersen, *Steamboating on the Upper Mississippi* . . . (Iowa City, 1937), 183-4.

been here on his way to Washington, having been superceded.⁸ I was in hopes of making the campaign this winter under his command, but it is not to be. Well, all I have to do is to obey my officers whoever they may be & to serve my country to the best of my ability no matter who commands. We had an election last evening for sergeant. I do not very well like the one elected. He being a man who by his own account would never come into the army if he could have got better wages out of it, & would leave it any time for higher wages if he could. A poor patriot surely for his fellow soldiers to delight to honor! And here I may say *en passant*, that I would have been proposed but I was an Irishman & was too religious. As many of my comrades were pleased to say that they thought I was the most competent in the Co. for the office. Well, in old times many of the Lords servants took joyfully the spoiling of all their goods & even gladly gave up their life itself & shall not I gladly forgo [*sic*] all hopes of promotion for a similar cause. Surely I can with Gods grace assisting me. God grant for Christs sake that I may continue to be as pious as I am & to grow in grace & in the knowledge of God every day of my life, & as to my birthplace — let me not dishonor the glorious birthright of an Irish protestant & I think I will not be less than equal to even an American citizen. Amen.

Nov. 17. Smoky & cloudy. This last has been a rather stirring week in camp, men going off, & coming in. The week commenced by a sham fight on Monday between a regiment of horse & one of foot. Every day since it has been continued & also with the artillery.

The horses are fast becoming inured to the firing & to be steady. Some of the foot maneuver very well. From these movements I would infer that these regiments will soon be sent into the field. Some accidents however, happen.

On Friday two horses threw their riders & each of these had a leg broken. One of the men of the seventh Iowa had the top of his head blown off, killing him instantly; such are the sad accompaniments of war. On Friday also the seventh Iowa came in from Belmont⁹ to recruit and rest. The regt. has

⁸ John C. Fremont was relieved from duty as "Commander of the Department of the West" on November 2, 1861. The move was unpopular with both the soldiers and much of the Northern public. See Allan Nevins, *Fremont, The West's Greatest Adventurer* (2 vols., New York, 1928), 2:611-16.

⁹ Belmont, Missouri. Grant estimated his losses in this battle at 485 killed, wounded, and missing out of the 2,500 engaged. U. S. Grant, *Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant* (2 vols., New York, 1885), 1:271-81.

only 225 effective men, having lost 175 out of 400 at Belmont & having had 500 sick at the time of the fight. Yesterday the second Michigan cavalry numbering 1200 men came into camp. Yesterday we were obliged to double up, two companies being put into one room. There are 1300 more cavalry to be in from Michigan in a few days, & there are several thousand other troops to arrive, so will soon be pretty well thronged. . . .

20 Nov, 1861. Still we go along in our daily rounds of duty without any change of movement. Fresh troops continue to arrive and our camp is fast filling up. Yesterday we had quite a rain storm accompanied with lightning & thunder, which drove us from drill in double time. At night the 11th Iowa foot came into camp; they must have had a time of it from the river up. Today is sunny & beautiful for the season. Four more companies have been joined to us. At this rate we will soon make a regt.

Monday, Nov. 25. The weather for the last few days has been cold and wintry. Troops still coming. The 11th Wisconsin and 13th Iowa have reached here in the last few days. Measles & smallpox are now in the camp. Diarrhea follows me close, but bodily disease is not much if the health of the soul is preserved. . . . We — or all of us that wish are being vaccinated. I have been.

Friday, Dec. 6. After a few days of cold weather, it has changed again and is now mild as spring. No frosty nights and days of mingled cloud & sunshine. There are still about the usual state of things in camp. Once in a while a man is hurt or killed. The camp is still filling up with men & "the cry is still they come."

For myself I have been mercifully preserved from sickness, thanks to my kind Heavenly Father. . . . Death has already entered among us. Small as is our number, three of them have been already laid in the silent tomb, without even seeing the foe against whom they came out to fight. What need for all to be ready.

Jan. 2, 1862. After nearly a month I set about scribbling a little more. For the first time since I joined I am on the "sick list." I hope only for a few days. A bad cold & some fever, the causes. . . .

I am sorry to say that I have got into a dispute with the Lieut. Col., M. T. Patrick. Some of his acts not being palatable to the men, they agreed to report him to the General. I was asked to write the paper & consented, as I thought they had a perfect right to do it, having before refused to have anything to do with them, when they were making pretty warm comments

on the matter. The Lieut. Col., finding out that I had written the paper, sent for me & ordered me to tell him what it contained & who were the chief actors in getting it up. I asked him by what authority he ordered me to tell him or where he got it. He said I had sworn to obey the orders of his officers. I said I did not think I was to obey unlawful orders & asked him if he was to order me to kill one of my comrades if I would have a right to obey him. He said I would. Well then, said I, I certainly would not and neither will I answer your questions unless you show me some right you have to put them. If you don't, said he, I will send you to the guard house & when you lie there a month or so you will perhaps think it good policy to do as I tell you. It may be that I think it good policy now, said I, but I do not look to policy where right is concerned. If you will show me I have a right to answer your questions I will do it now & besides there have been a great many good men shot, hanged, and burned to death, who if they had looked to what people said was good policy, they would not have suffered these things. This was on Monday evening, Dec. 23rd. After two days in the guard house I was liberated on the evening of Christmas, being the first time I was ever in "durance vile." I at once charged the Lieut. Col. with unjust imprisonment. The trial was postponed, however. I wish I was in good health to attend to it, but as long as I am able to get around, I will not look for any delay on my part. It is melancholy to see how soon men placed in authority can become tyrants even in this land of boasted Freedom & equality. May I be enabled to do my duty uninfluenced by any angry feelings even towards those who may seek to injure me.

Jany. 6, 1862. Almost well again. Still I have reason to thank God for his goodness to me, but how little do I thank Him. . . . My charges against the Lieut. Col. were examined into on Saturday and came to nothing, partly from the partialaty [sic] of the officers & a great deal more from the cowardice of the men, who could swear to anything outside & knew nothing inside; & such *things* call themselves *men*. Men? Well I must not let angry feelings disturb me, but go on doing my duty and praying to God to enable me to love even those that injure or ill treat me. . . .

Saturday, Jany. 11, 1862. My cold still continues with a good deal of cough but I am on duty again, since the 9th. On Wednesday afternoon, feeling pretty well I thought I would go on drill; it had been thawing for a couple of days & was pretty icy. My horse was not shod, & being idle for some days wanted to run a race pretty bad and as he could not do that, he

took to jumping instead and soon rolled himself & me on the ground. I got off with a wetting & after that he did not appear to think his fun paid & went quieter. Last night one of our men died, the first of Co. C. . . .

Sunday, Jany. 12. Today among the orders read on inspection was one to the effect that no officer should hold any communication with his men except on duty. How pleasant for the sovereigns to be reminded that they were no longer fit company for "gentlemen." Thieves & companions of thieves I would say, but no matter. They wear shoulder straps and should be "obeyed and respected accordingly." In the afternoon we had service in the quarters by our chaplain, A. M. Spilman, from Nebraska, a little too much of a dandy to suit me, but he preached a good sermon from the words, "And it pleased God that in Him should all fullness dwell." Today also two of our comrades were deposited in the silent tomb. One, John McMichael, a fellow countryman from the North of Ireland & I trust that he is now reposing in the bosom of the Savior. The other from Nebraska named Henry Deuel. How should soldiers live & all others too.

Wednesday, Jany. 15, 1862. On Monday last the Illinois 55th & the Iowa 7th left for Cairo. Since then we have heard that the steamboat Continental on which the seventh were embarked got fast in a gorge 20 miles below the city. They are to come back & go by railroad. No news from the 55th. Today the Minnesota Battery of six guns left. Troops are moving in all directions. I hope — or rather wish — something may be done, but will there be?

Jany. 22nd. Last week the Col. complained that the men of Co. C. did not take off their hats when business brought them to his office. On tattoo the men were told of it by the second Lt. and enjoined to take off their caps. As soon as we were told to break ranks there was a storm of hisses for the Col. and an outspoken declaration to refuse compliance. They said they were willing to take off their caps in any mans *house*, but not to any *man* when they went into an *office* on business. It was complained that Co. C were the delinquents, as if no others acted so. The curses on the Col. were mingled with cries of "Bully for Co. C." The curses apart, I have no word of blame for the men, for the officers in general have shown a spirit of arrogance that if I did not see it I would think incredible. The commands of many of them are accompanied with abusive language, oaths and curses, "God damned privates" being a common expression. Thank God none of the officers of Co. C. are guilty of it. Of Co. A, Capt. Kelsey was guilty of

manslaughter at Council Bluffs. Lt. [J. J.] Lower takes his share in cursing the privates. Lt [Horace] Walters led a sheep stealing party in Iowa when he was orderly sergeant, as stated by me before, and there is pretty good evidence that all shared the plunder. And in verification of the old proverb, "like master, like man," the men of the Co. in general are worthy of them. From being partakers of their evil deeds, Oh Lord deliver me. Amen.

Sunday, Jany. 26th, 62. We were informed a few days ago that we were under marching orders, & to leave last week. Now it is said we leave on Tuesday. "Maybe so and maybe so, lie," as the Indian said. Today I heard a sermon from Dr. Elliot,¹⁰ Editor of the Central Christian Advocate, St. Louis. He is a fellow countryman. He addressed us for a while from the words of John the Baptist to the soldiers, "Do violence to no man, and be content with your wages;" but his text was from Oliver Cromwell to his soldiers, "Say your prayers and keep your powder dry."¹¹ His discourse was a fair one for his audience & he gave us all good advice. I wish it may have a good effect. I have been reading the life of Gen. Sir Henry Havelock¹² and been much struck with the noble Christian character he displayed. Oh for such men to command us & for such in any capacity. . . . How cold & dull I am in all religious exercises. Oh for grace to warm up my heart in God's service.

Wednesday, Jany. 29, 1862. Rain & snow for the last three days & it is today snowing after heavy rain last night, followed by a slight frost this morning. Troops are still leaving. The 13th Missouri and the 12th Iowa left on Monday. Today a part of the Ind[iana] 3rd was marched in here under a strong escort of Cavalry. They are, it is said, charged with mutiny. Poor fellows. I am sorry for them, for I am inclined to think in such a case the fault is most on the side of the officers.

Cairo, Monday, Feb. 10. During the past week troops have been busy moving in different directions. The 14th Iowa left for Cairo on Monday. After them the 25th Ia., the Ill. 43, 3rd Iowa Cav., and last the Curtis Horse, also the Benton Hussars, for Rolla. Benton Barracks is left with few inmates. We left on Saturday morning & got here last night. What a

¹⁰ Dr. Charles Elliot. See *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, 11:495.

¹¹ This quotation is usually given as, "Put your trust in God; but mind to keep your powder dry!"

¹² British general (1795-1857) chiefly active in India. He was the leader of "Havelock's Saints" and was noted for his piety. *Dictionary of National Biography*, 9:174.

change is here. Everywhere the signs of war are visible. The low land on the Mississippi is clearer & occupied by a long range of Barracks & a parade ground. Here are six or 8 gun boats, some of them bearing marks of the Fort Henry fight on them.¹³ There are a dozen mortars in the cars & soldiers everywhere with a rebel flag captured at Fort Henry. The point of land at the junction of the rivers is occupied as a battery. Across the Miss. is birds point [Bird's Point, Missouri], and on the Kentucky shore another camp.

12 o'clock. We are just about to leave for Tennessee so we may soon see the enemy. On our way down from Saint Louis there was a good deal of ice in the Miss.; a short distance above here was a gorge we had to break through. The ice cut a hole in the boat. The Ohio is high and muddy but no ice.

1/2 past 12 — Underway once more for old Tennessee. May the time soon come when all these boats will be again employed in peaceful trade. But where shall I be then? God only knows, and He knows what is best.

"Fort Henry," Tenn., Feb. 17th, 1862. We arrived here on Tuesday last and landed the same day. The cannon of the "Fort" looked black & gloomy at us but they are harmless now.

The "Fort" is a space of several acres enclosed by a ditch about 15 feet wide & 8 or 10 deep. The river was very high, over the low grounds, and the lower part of the fort was overflowed. There were 17 guns in the works, one a 128 pounder, one a rifled gun which burst. A smaller ditch was carried out I think not less than a mile & a half from the river. Then a piece of wood not cut down, then about forty rods wide of timber cut down so as to stop cavalry or artillery, & to be difficult for infantry. A great deal of labor to be lost in an hour. We encamped on a gentle rise a short distance south of the fort. We had to clear a place for our camp, but the rebels had cut down all the heavy timber for us, thereby saving us some hard labor. The weather was fine.

Wednesday evening — four volunteers were called for from a Co. to form a scouting party it was said. I was one from our Co. After we reported we found we were for picket guard. Several of the men grumbled at this vowing that they would not have volunteered if they had not expected

¹³ Grant began an expedition against Fort Henry, on the Tennessee River, on February 2, 1862, and captured it February 6. Grant wrote, "All the gunboats engaged were hit many times." Grant, *Personal Memoirs* . . . , 1:292.

a chance for a shot at some rebels. The moon was shining brightly and the stars twinkling merrily as we rode out from camp. The night passed calm and peaceful. One could hardly feel that within a few miles of here was a hundred thousand men, breathing out threatenings and slaughter against one another. It was my first night all awake, & I was pretty sleepy towards morning. We were relieved at nine o'clock. Then 120 men started to scour the country. They found no rebels that morning. The attack commenced on Fort Donaldson¹⁴ by our troops. Every once in a while we could hear the booming of the great guns. Our boys went within three miles of the fort. They all wanted to go on & join in the melee. The officers said they were afraid to go nearer for fear the men would run off of themselves, they were so eager. In the evening we got orders for our first battallion to hold themselves in readiness to march at a moments notice. Next morning I felt unwell and ate nothing, but said nothing as I thought a ride would stir me up, & we all expected to go to the fort. We were kept about an hour on horseback in the bitter cold — and it was cold — & then came orders to cross the river. When we came down the boat was so busy crossing troops to go to the fort we had to stay till near night & then stop on the boat. I don't know when I felt so miserable. Could eat no dinner, a cracker for supper. Next day I was better, a cracker and some cold fat meat for breakfast, & then ashore. The sun came out warm & we began to feel comfortable, but what a time on our brave men fighting at fort D[onelson].

I have heard that many wounded froze to death. How horrible; such is war. And still the roaring of cannon can be heard continually. Our Nebraska boys are there, many of my acquaintances from Nemaha Co[unty]. May God watch over them. A number of our men were out at once on a scouting expedition, 1200 rebel cavalry being reported near. They saw none. At night 4 men from a Co. were detailed as pickets. Yesterday 100 men went on a foraging expedition. They got back at night bringing corn, fodder, &c., hogs, chickens and so on and very merry over the misfortunes of the search. We heard no firing since morning. At night word was brought that fort D. surrendered at 10 o'clock. Three generals, a large number of officers and 10,000 men captured. So the good cause prospers.

¹⁴ Fort Donelson lay eleven miles east of Fort Henry. For the part played by another Iowa regiment — the Second Infantry — see Mildred Throne (ed.), "The Civil War Diary of John Mackley," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 48:163-4. For Grant's account of this famous battle, see Grant, *Personal Memoirs* . . . , 1:294-315.

Last night it rained, and clouds, water and mud are the order of the day. But the sunny south will, I hope, soon vindicate its rights in this respect.

Saturday, Feb. 22, 1862. Rain, sunshine and frost alternate here. Monday we staid in camp. Tuesday we went out on a foraging expedition, Uncle Sam footing the bills, orders having been given not to take anything without paying for it. The country is rolling, most of the hills very steep and rocky. The soil looks to me very poor, & none of that scarcely except on creek bottoms. The roads miserable, streams not bridged, and in some places the roads follow their course. Log houses and very poor ones at that, the people about as mean looking as their dwellings and nothing looking well, only the slaves, who generally look pleased and happy.

Wednesday, rain, cold and chilly, at night frost. Thursday, cold and disagreeable. Friday, fine. Another foraging expedition. Took a different road. Country worse than before, nothing good about it that I can see except the timber and maybe the stone if the latter was not so abundant as to be a plague. Got back at about bed time and then it commenced to rain. Kept at it all night and all day, till now (two o'clock), when there seems a chance for sunshine. A great many of our men are sick. Thank God I still keep well. May I praise Him for His Goodness to me. A few negroes came into camp yesterday and the day before. I trust they may soon be all free. No other union men about.

Monday, March 10th, 62. Again troops are moving. Our camp here is about deserted. Last week the five regiments of infantry here struck their tents and left. Boats have been coming and going. A large number is now up the river, having taken troops, stores, &c. Yesterday the artillery stationed here left, escorted by about one hundred men of our battalion. Two companies of the Indiana 52nd came over here.¹⁵ So our force is small, but soon we too may leave here for fresh fields. Camp life is having its effect on our men. Dysentery and diarrhea are prevalent. Except a slight attack of dysentery, I have had good health. May I be truly thankful to my Heavenly Father for all His goodness to me, but how little do I care for religion; how my thoughts wander on other subjects and how much the world holds as its slave even here, when at any moment I may be hurried out of it. . . .

¹⁵ During March, preparations were under way to send troops from Fort Henry against Eastport, Mississippi, and Paris, Tennessee. Grant, *Personal Memoirs* . . ., 1:325.

Monday, March 17. On Friday last about 4 o'clock A. M., we were getting ready to start for Paris — a town about 26 miles southwest of our camp & soon started. After a march of 9 miles we stopped to feed our horses & wait for a battery of artillery. Noon we started again & just at sundown entered Paris, white flags being displayed from different parts of the town. The rebel camp was about a mile on the west of town. We passed on and in a little while the thunder of the artillery told that the fight had begun. We only mustered all together about 200 men. The rebel force was variously stated at from five to 1500. The rebels not making any answer, the cavalry were ordered to charge on the camp. Cos. A, B, & D advanced, Co. C being ordered to stand by the guns and baggage. Our men came within a few rods of the camp when a force of rebels lying down in the brush rose & poured in a close volley. Some of the horses of our men took fright and ran away with their riders. Some stood firm & some of the men not being able to quiet their horses, dismounted & went in on foot. A short time, however, showed that our cavalry could not do anything among the timber & brush & they were ordered to fall back & form on the artillery. A warm contest was now carried on for some time between these & the rebels, whose fire well sustained for some time, began to slacken as darkness came on. Our guns also ceased firing, but after a short time the rebels resumed it & leaving their cover advanced as if to charge on the guns. A few shells drove them back to the woods & their fire soon died off. When we could get no further answer we followed suit & returned to town. Our loss was our sergeant Major, one sergeant of Co. A, 1 corporal and three privates and one private of Co. B killed and one or two wounded. The artillery Captain, Bullitt, was also mortally wounded. After consulting together, our officers determined to retreat, as there was a large force of rebels only a few miles on the railroad, & we were far from ours, so we continued on till about three o'clock next morning & I finished the night on picket guard.¹⁶ Next day we returned to camp. Here I had to get five days rations for the men & after working till midnight, I was right glad to get to bed. Next day we moved

¹⁶ See Grant's report of this skirmish to Major General H. W. Halleck dated March 13, 1862. He gave the casualties as four men killed and five wounded. The artillery captain was Robert E. Bulliss. He estimated the enemy loss at 100 killed or wounded and 8 prisoners. The raid was to break up a Confederate group engaged in conscription in the area. *The War of the Rebellion: . . . Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1884), Series I, Vol. X, Pt. I, 16-19.

towards Paris again & encamped a few miles out. Friday, two Cos., C and G, went out on a scouting expedition and passed on till within four miles of Paris. We came home through a pouring rain, lost our way in the woods at night & reached our camp wet & weary after tattoo, after a ride of 40 miles. Saturday, rain all day. Sunday cloudy & misty. On our way in on 12th, we met our 2nd battallion coming out to reinforce us, also 7 Cos. of 52nd Ind. Inf. These last have had a hard time, wet and hungry, not having tents & only one days provisions & at last in consequence of the wet, were ordered back to camp. Such is a soldier's life.

Today is fine & sunny; had some frost last night, a day or two more of dry weather will make the roads passable again, & then, ho for Paris & no retreat —

SOURCE MATERIAL OF IOWA HISTORY

[Among the documents in the collection of the State Historical Society of Iowa is a record of one of Iowa's many "paper" railroads of the mid-nineteenth century — The Davenport & Iowa City Rail Road Company. These records, written on ruled paper, sewed together, and bound in brown paper, were presented to the Society, as explained in the letter which precedes the document, by H. W. Lathrop in 1860. This document is of value as showing the method whereby local railroad companies were established, flourished, and languished during the years of intense railroad excitement. Few purely local railroad schemes ever went beyond the paper stage; those roads which became realities were tied, financially, to the roads built by eastern capital. Thus, this Iowa City venture became an actuality only after it had "sold its birthright" to the Mississippi & Missouri Rail Road which was partly financed by the Rock Island Railroad. For the story of the "M & M," see Dwight L. Agnew, "Iowa's First Railroad," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 48:1-26 (January, 1950). —EDITOR.]

THE DAVENPORT & IOWA CITY RAIL ROAD

Iowa City Feb. 11th, 1860

To the Board of Curators
of the State Historical Society
Gentlemen

Herewith I present you the records of the Davenport and Iowa City Rail Road Company. This was the first Rail Road Company organized in the State, and although it has ceased to exist, the Mississippi & Missouri Co. phenix [sic] like, has risen from its ashes. The stock subscribed never amounted to more than \$15,000, and only sufficient was paid in to procure a survey of the route from Davenport to Iowa City, and a publication of the Engineer's report and accompanying diagram.

At the last meeting of the Board of Directors, the record of which was lost, a transfer of all the rights, privileges, benefits, franchises &c &c in the possession of the company, was made to the Mississippi and Missouri R. R. Co. The meeting was held late in the afternoon, and at its close, Dr. Henry

Murray was despatched immediately to Davenport with a transcript of the proceedings, that he might lay it before the Directors of the latter company at a meeting to be held in that place the next day. Traveling on horseback most of the night he reached Davenport in time to lay before the Directors at the commencement of their meeting the proceedings in relation to the transfer. The grant was accepted and the conditions complied with by making Iowa City a point on the M & M Road.

Yours &c

H. W. Lathrop

JOURNAL RECORD OF THE DAVENPORT & IOWA CITY RAIL ROAD COMPANY

Be it remembered, that on the 14th day of October 1850, at Iowa City, in Johnson County Iowa, the Commissioners named in the articles of incorporation of the Davenport & Iowa City Rail Road Company, & the stockholders of said company, met at the office of George L. Hampton Esq in said city, in pursuance of a resolution previously adopted by said Commissioners, and having exhibited the subscriptions to the capital stock of said Company, whereby it appeared that more than five thousand dollars had been subscribed, to said capital stock, proceeded with the business of organizing said company, there having been previous notice given by said Commissioners, that an election of officers, for said Company, would be held, at the time, and place hereinbefore mentioned.

A quorum of said Commissioners being present, on motion, Enoch Lewis was called to the chair, & Thos. Hughes was chosen secretary.

The articles of incorporation of the said company were then presented, bearing the signatures of said Commissioners, and were adopted by the stockholders who were present

On motion of Mr Byington, it was Resolved, That, in the election about to take place, each stockholder be authorized to cast one vote, for each share of stock, held by such stockholder, either by himself, or by his duly authorized agent.

On motion of Mr. Fales, the stockholders of said company then proceeded, under the direction of said Commissioners, to elect by ballot the first Board of nine Directors; and upon counting the ballots it appeared, that Le Grand Byington, James P. Carleton, Joseph T. Fales, Smiley H. Bonham, Henry W. Lathrop, Samuel Workman, James Cavanaugh, Thomas

Hughes & Garrett D. Palmer, had each received a majority of all the votes cast, and they were declared, by the chairman duly elected Directors of said Company, a quorum of the above named Directors being present, forthwith proceeded to elect executive officers of said company. When James P. Carleton was elected President, Legrand Byington was elected Treasurer, & Henry W Lathrop was elected secretary of said Company.

The following resolutions were then adopted by the Board of Directors to wit,

I Resolved, That the Articles of Incorporation under which this Company has been organized, be recorded in the office of the Recorder of Deeds of Johnson County — that a certified copy thereof be deposited in the office of the Secretary of State — that the notice required by law, be published in the Iowa Capital Reporter, & that the secretary of this company, be charged with the duty of seeing this resolution carried into effect

And, Whereas it has been represented to this Company, that a number of individuals, who have personal objections to subscribing to its capital Stock, at this time, have expressed a desire to make voluntary contributions towards procuring, under the auspices of the Company, the location & right of way of the Davenport & Iowa City Rail Road: therefore

II Resolved, That the Secretary of this Company, be authorized & required forthwith, to prepare a paper for the reception of such subscriptions.

III Resolved That this company will proceed to secure such location & right of way, so soon, as the subscriptions to its capital stock shall be so far augmented, as that five per centum thereon, together with such voluntary subscriptions, will yield sufficient to pay the necessary costs of the same.

IV Resolved that Messrs Byington Hughes & Fales, be, & they are hereby appointed a committee, to prepare By-Laws for the government of this Company, & that until such By-Laws are adopted, the regular meetings of the Directors shall be held, at 2 o'clock P. M. on the first Saturday of each month

V Resolved That subscriptions to the capital stock of this Company, shall be received under the supervision of the Treasurer, until the first Saturday of November next

VI Resolved, That the Secretary be, & he is hereby authorized, to procure suitable books & papers for the use of his office

On motion the Board then adjourned

H. W. Lathrop Secretary

At a special meeting of the Board of Directors of the Davenport & Iowa City Rail Road Company called by the President and held at Iowa City on the 21st of October 1850 a quorum being present it was on motion

Resolved, That Legrand Byington be & he is hereby authorized & required to proceed to Davenport & Rock Island for the purpose of procuring stock &c in the Davenport and Iowa City Rail Road Company & the services of an engineer to commence an immediate survey of said road

Resolved, That should said mission result in the commencement of said survey this fall, the Hon James Grant of Davenport or such other person as he may appoint as a substitute be & he is hereby appointed an agent of this company to procure for said company the right of way for said road from individual proprietors of the land through which said survey may be made between Davenport & the Cedar River

On motion the Board then adjourned

(Seal)

H. W. Lathrop Secretary
James P. Carleton Prest

At a regular meeting of the Board of Directors of the Davenport & Iowa City Rail Road Company held at Iowa City on the 2nd of November 1850 a quorum (consisting of Messrs Byington Hughes Palmer Workman & Lathrop) being present the following proceedings were had

I Resolved That an installment of five per centum upon the capital stock of this company now subscribed or which may hereafter be subscribed is required to be paid to the Treasurer of this company previous to the 25th day of November instant notice of which shall be given by publication in the Reporter

II Resolved, That the contract which was made by the Treasurer of this company with Richard P. Morgan Esq for a survey of a route for their road be in all things affirmed, & recorded by the Secretary of this company

III Resolved That the committee heretofore appointed to prepare By Laws for the government of this company be allowed until the next regular meeting of the Directors to make their report

IV Resolved That James P. Carleton be and he is hereby authorized & required to proccure [sic] for this company at as early a period as practicable the right of way for their road over the lands of individual owners between the Cedar River & Iowa City

V Resolved That the Treasurer of this Company be authorized & re-

quired to receive subscriptions to the capital stock of this company until the first day of December next

VI Resolved That the following memorial be presented by this Company to the Congress of the United States at its next session

To the Senate & House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States

The Davenport & Iowa City Rail Road Company, by its duly elected officers, represent to your honorable body, that said company has been completely organized under the laws of Iowa for the purpose of constructing & using a Rail Road from Davenport on the Mississippi river to Iowa City the capital of said state. That said company has procured a thorough survey & estimate to be made upon the route of their said road a report of which by their engineer is herewith presented & from which it will appear that a large part of said route will necessarily [sic] run over the public lands of the United States & that said Company having secured the right of way for their said road from individual land holders upon the line are anxious to obtain from the General Government the right of way for their said road over the aforesaid lands of the United States to the end that an early movement may be made towards the construction of said road. The said Rail Road company therefore pray the passage of an act at your present session granting to said Company the right of way for said road over the lands of the United States through which the route of said road may be located &c

The said Company further ask your honorable body to grant to the State of Iowa in trust for the benefit of said Rail Road Company a quantity of public lands equal to six sections for each mile of said road & urge upon your attention the following reasons in favor of making said grant

First That said grant would facilitate & greatly accelerate the making of said road & secure its completion at a much earlier period than it would otherwise be accomplished

Second: That said road when completed would be a prolongation of a railway track from New York Boston & Philadelphia by the way of Cleveland [sic] & Chicago into the heart of Iowa in the direction of Council Bluffs & the South Pass & would thus form an important section of the Atlantic & Pacific Rail Road

Third: That it would greatly facilitate the settlement and cultivation of central Iowa, & place that part of our state upon a somewhat more equal

footing with those portions of it which are upon & adjacent to her navigable waters

Fourth: That the grant would operate as a positive benefit to the government itself by imparting a value & ready sale to vast quantities of prairie land contiguous to the road which would otherwise remain unproductive & unsaleable for the want of facilities for improvement which the road alone would furnish

Fifth: That said road being near to several important and necessary military posts and on the shortest line of communication with our western frontier settlements, the government would derive therefrom a further and direct benefit by means of a speedy and free transit over the same at all times of its troops & property, the said company being willing to accept the grant herein prayed for upon the condition that this service shall be performed on their road without charge to the government for such transportation

Sixth: That it would in every point of view, be a liberal act of justice to the interior counties of Iowa, & a measure of sound policy so far as the governmental & pecuniary interests of the United States would be affected by it

On motion the Board then adjourned

H. W. Lathrop
Secretary

The following is a copy of the contract referred to in the second resolution adopted by the Directors of the Davenport & Iowa City Rail Road Company at their regular meeting held Nov 2nd 1850

"In consideration of the undertakings of the Davenport & Iowa City Rail Road Company hereinaftermentioned I Richard P. Morgan of Kendall Co. Illinois agree with said company to make a survey & estimates of a rail way route upon the most practicable ground from the town of Davenport in Scott County to Iowa City in Johnson County Iowa said survey & estimates to be completed & a report thereof accompanied by the field notes & by suitable maps or diagrams to be made to said company on or before the tenth day of December next. In consideration whereof said Company agree to pay to said Morgan for said survey & estimates after the same shall have been completed the sum of four hundred dollars said survey is to be made by said Morgan with such care judgment & accuracy that the location of the bed of said road may be made thereon & the right of way with reasonable certainty

obtained upon the basis of such survey and location.

In witness whereof said company by Le Grand Byington their authorized agent and said Morgan have hereunto set their hands this 26th day of Oct. 1850

The Davenport & Iowa City
Rail Road Company
By Le Grand Byington
their agent
Richd P. Morgan

At a regular meeting of the Board of Directors of the Davenport & Iowa City Rail Road Company held at the office of Geo. L. Hampton Esqr in Iowa City on the 7th day of December 1850 a quorum (Messrs Carleton Byington Workman Palmer & Lathrop) being present, the following resolutions were passed.

I Resolved That the Treasurer be authorized to receive subscriptions to the capital stock of this Company till the first day of January next

II Resolved That the committee on By Laws have one month's further time to report

III Resolved That a draft of \$400. in favor of Richard P. Morgan be drawn on the Treasurer of this company

IV Resolved That the Report & Field Notes of Richard P. Morgan the Engineer employed to survey the route of the Davenport & Iowa City Rail Road be accepted and placed on file

V Resolved That Messrs Lathrop Workman & Palmer be & they are hereby appointed a committee on publication & engraving & that they be authorized to procure the publication of 2000 copies of the engineer's report & accompanying diagram.

VI Resolved That the President and Treasurer of the Board be & they are hereby appointed a committee to procure the right of way for this road from the individual owners along the route

On motion the Board then adjourned

H. W. Lathrop
Secretary

At a regular meeting of the Board of Directors of the Davenport & Iowa City Rail Road Company held at Iowa City on the fifth day of Jan. A D

1851 a quorum (Messrs Hughes Byington Palmer Workman & Lathrop) being present Mr Byington in the chair the following resolutions were passed

I Resolved, That the first & second resolutions adopted at the last meeting be revived & continued in force until otherwise ordered

II Resolved That the pamphlet edition of the Engineers Report heretofore ordered be placed on sale under direction of the Treasurer of the Board at such prices as will be sufficient to pay the costs of its publication

On motion the Board then adjourned

At a regular meeting of the Board of Directors of the Davenport & Iowa City Rail Road Company held at Iowa City on the first day of February A D 1851, for want of a quorum no business was transacted & on motion the board adjourned

[This entry repeated for following dates: March 1, April 5, May 3, June 7, July 5, August 2, September 6, and October 4, 1851.]

At a meeting of the stockholders of the Davenport & Iowa City Rail Road Company held at Iowa City on Saturday the 4th day of November A D 1851 M. I. Morsman was called to the chair & H. W. Lathrop chosen secretary. Whereupon on motion of Legrand Byington an election was held for Directors of said Company for the ensuing year which resulted in the choice of

Jas. P. Carlton [sic]

Legrand Byington

H. W. Lathrop

M. I. Morsman

Thomas Hughes

G. D. Palmer

Sylvanus Johnson

Henry Murray &

James Grant

The meeting thereupon adjourned

H. W. Lathrop Secretary

At a regular meeting of the Board of Directors of the Davenport & Iowa City Rail Road Company held at the office of Dr. H. Murray in Iowa City on Saturday the first day of November 1851 (Messrs Carleton Byington Lathrop Morsman Hughes Palmer & Murray being present) Jas. P. Carle-

ton was reelected President H. W. Lathrop Secretary and Legrand Byington Treasurer for the ensuing year — when on motion the Board adjourned

H. W. Lathrop Secretary

At a special meeting of the Board of Directors of the Davenport & Iowa City Rail Road Company held on Wednesday the 26th day of Nov. 1851 (Messrs Carleton Byington Morsman Murray Palmer Hughes & Lathrop being present) the following resolution was adopted

Resolved That the President & Directors of this Company be authorized to make & deliver to Geo. W. Jones a power of attorney authorizing the said Jones for & on behalf of said Company to make & execute all such contracts & arrangements with third persons as in his discretion may seem meet for the purpose of securing from Congress a grant of lands to the state of Iowa for the use & benefit of the Davenport & Iowa City Rail Companies as at present organized in aid of the construction of the Davenport & Council Bluffs rail road

H. W. Lathrop Sec. of Board

At a special meeting of the Board of Directors of the Davenport & Iowa City Rail Road Company held on Friday the 20th day of May A. D. 1853 (Present Messrs Carleton Byington Murray Morsman Workman & Johnson & Lathrop) the following Preamble resolution was adopted

Resolved That in the final organization of the Mississippi and Missouri Rail Road Company or in any necessary proceeding preliminary or subsequent thereto at the proposed meeting of the corporators at Chicago on the 25th day of May 1853 or at any other suitable time & place Legrand Byington as the authorized agent of this Company may negotiate with said Mississippi & Missouri Rail Road Company or any authorized agent or committee thereof for the sale or transfer or surrender to said last named company of all the rights franchises property stock & muniments belonging or appertaining to said Davenport & Iowa City Rail Road Company on condition that said Mississippi & Missouri Rail Road Company shall make Iowa City a point in the construction and operation of their Rail Road

H. W. Lathrop Secretary

At a special meeting of the Board of Directors of the Davenport & Iowa City Rail Road Company called by order of the President thereof and held at their usual place of business on Thursday the second day of June A. D.

1853 Present a quorum (consisting of Messrs Carleton Murray Workman Morsman Johnson & Lathrop) the following resolution was unanimously passed

Resolved That the Hon James Grant of Davenport or such other person as he may appoint as a substitute be and he is hereby appointed an agent of this Company to procure for said company the right of way for the Davenport & Iowa City Rail Road from the individual proprietors of the land in and through Scott County

James P. Carleton Pres

H. W. Lathrop Secretary

[Here the record ends. Included in the booklet is the following on a separate and loose sheet of paper — evidently a draft of the by-laws.]

1st In all election of officers for this company and upon such other questions as the Stockholders may be required to vote, each Stockholder is entitled to cast, by himself or by his or her authorized agent, one vote for each share of capital Stock held by such Stockholder in his or her own right, at the time such vote is given, and all elections shall be by ballot.

2nd Regular elections for officers of this company shall be holden on the first Saturday in November in each year after the year 1850, of which elections at least two week's notice shall be given by publication, and any vacancy which may occur, may be filled by the Board of directors.

3. A majority of the directors shall be a quorum for the transaction of business, and the regular meetings of the Board shall be on the first Saturday of each month. Special meetings may be called by the President, and at all meetings the President, or in his absence such director as the attending members may indicate by vote, shall preside.

4th The transactions of the directors shall be truly recorded by the Secretary, at all meetings held by them, and such journal shall be examined and if necessary, corrected by the presiding officer, and tested by the Secretary at each of said meetings.

5th No money shall be paid from the treasury of said company except in pursuance of appropriations made by the directors, and all payments made by the treasurer shall be upon an order drawn by the President, and countersigned by the Secretary; and the treasurer shall report the condition of the treasury and make settlement on the first Saturday of October an-

nually and at such other times as he may be required to do [so] by the Board of Directors.

6th Until it shall be otherwise determined the officers of this company shall receive no salary for their services, but shall be allowed, with the assent of the Board of directors, all the expenses which they necessarily incur, and a reasonable amount for the time in which they shall be exclusively occupied, in executing the orders of the directors.

7. Two weeks notice shall be given to the stockholders, by newspaper publication of each requisition or installment of stock required by the directors to be paid; and if, after such notice, and a demand in pursuance thereof, by the treasurer, any stockholder shall refuse or neglect to pay such installment for the period of five days after such demand, said directors may either direct suit for the collection of the same, or declare the stock belonging to such delinquent forfeited, and in this latter event, said directors may assign the unpaid portion of said forfeited stock to any person who will pay thereon said installment, or may strike the same from the existing stock of said company, and proclaim an equivalent amount of new stock whenever, in their opinion [it] shall be advisable to do so.

8th The Stock of said company shall be transferable by the holders thereof, upon the books of said company only.

9th The publication of all notices which are or may be required to be given in the newspaper, shall be duly certified under oath, by the publisher and recorded by the Secretary of this company.

HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

State Historical Society of Iowa

The biennial business meeting of the Society was held in combination with the second annual Amana Tour, on June 25, 1951. Members of the Society visited the seven Amana villages, a tour which included the Homestead Church, refrigerator plant, woolen mills, cabinet shops, meat market, Amana homes and gardens, and the East Amana cemetery. Following lunch at the Ox Yoke Inn, members attended the biennial business meeting, where Superintendent William J. Petersen made his report (published in this issue of the JOURNAL), and the Board of Curators was re-elected for another two-year term.

The annual Mississippi River Steamboat Cruises, for members of the Society and their guests, took place July 4-9, 1951, as follows:

July 4 — Wednesday — Clinton to Dubuque.

July 5 — Thursday — Dubuque to McGregor.

July 6 — Friday — round trip: McGregor to the State Line.

July 7 — Saturday — round trip: McGregor to the State Line.

July 8 — Sunday — round trip: McGregor to the State Line.

July 9 — Monday — McGregor to Clinton.

Some 600 members enjoyed these six cruises on the *Rob Roy III*, with Commodore O. D. Collis as host. Breakfast, lunch, and an afternoon snack, featuring an all-Iowa menu, were served on board the boat on each trip.

Dr. Frederick I. Kuhns, research assistant of the Society, has contributed an article to the December, 1950, issue of the *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society* — "End of Joint Missionary Work by Presbyterians and Congregationalists in 1861."

SUPERINTENDENT'S CALENDAR

- | | |
|----------|--|
| April 2 | Address at Cornell College Chapel. |
| April 6 | Speech at meeting of Iowa Pen Women, Centerville. |
| April 9 | Address at Ottumwa Women's Club. |
| April 13 | Attended Iowa Press Association Meeting in Des Moines. |

- April 17-21 Attended Mississippi Valley Historical Association meeting at Cincinnati, Ohio.
- April 23 Consulted with Committee on Cornell College History at Mount Vernon.
- May 3 Speech at History Club Meeting, Monmouth College.
- May 15 Commencement Address, Atalissa High School.
- May 17 Commencement Address, Mingo High School.
- May 21 Lecture at Linn County Historical Society, Cedar Rapids.
- May 22 Commencement Address, Tama High School.
- May 23 Illustrated talk to Society Members from Mills, Montgomery, and Fremont counties at Malvern.
- May 24 Address before Council Bluffs Rotary.
- May 24 Commencement Address, Malvern High School.
- May 25 Commencement Address, Sheldon High School.
- May 26 Address before Osceola County Women's Clubs, Sibley.
- June 7 Lecture at Three-County District Dental Meeting, Davenport.

The following members were elected to membership in The State Historical Society during the months of March, April and May:

<i>Albia</i>	<i>Carroll</i>
Mrs. Elmer Loeb	Mrs. Celia Polson
<i>Ames</i>	James W. Wilson
R. K. Bliss	<i>Cedar Falls</i>
Mrs. Percy H. Carr	Curriculum Laboratory
<i>Beaver</i>	Dr. A. B. Jensen
Mrs. O. O. Rohrer	<i>Cedar Rapids</i>
<i>Belle Plaine</i>	Mrs. Frank D. Cargin
Mrs. Benson Guinn	Harry G. Hoyt
<i>Bellevue</i>	Marvin B. Kober
Edward J. Ernst, Sr.	Frank Petras
<i>Boone</i>	Floyd Philbrick
Miss Lois LeBarron	John D. Randall
<i>Burt</i>	E. E. Shenefelt
Robert E. Angus	Sam Woodke
	<i>Centerville</i>
	Mrs. Myrtle E. Felkner

Cherokee

Chas. C. Allison

James M. Dunn

Clarinda

Harold E. Davidson

Mrs. M. M. Dryden

Miss Ruth Lombard

Clinton

Miss Mary T. East

Coin

Dwight S. Buchtel

Coon Rapids

J. Thos. Rogers

Corydon

Frank Baker

Council Bluffs

Vern Beats

L. R. Hughes

Nevin M. Innes

Dr. Aldis Johnson

E. H. Lougee

Geo. F. Morse

Howard L. Young

Creston

Richard T. Reha

Davenport

Mrs. H. A. Briceland

Raymond D. Drake

Frank T. Martens

Mrs. Agnes F. Montanus

Frank R. Nichols

Robert E. Rosene

Miss Amanda Schellhorn

Jacob Vogler

Des Moines

Geo. W. Bogardus

Rev. Raoul C. Calkins

Mrs. Tom R. Carr

Miss Evelyn Evans

Mrs. Eva Faught

Wayne A. Faupel

Miss Esther L. Immer

Miss Genevieve O. Johnson

A. Wayne Keck

Miss Olive Keefer

Miss Esther M. Miller

Walter P. Peterson

Rev. Arnold Thalacker

Nelson Urban

Woodside School

Diagonal

Rev. Tom Moore King

Elkhart

Miss Nancy A. Eckles

Fonda

Miss Pauline Bentz

Forest City

F. E. Morley

Fremont

Fremont Public Schools

Garnavillo

Alfred C. Pufahl

Miss Lucia Roggman

Glenwood

Paul H. Cheyney

W. C. Rathke

Sam Tyler

Humboldt

Miss Julia E. Nelson

Miss Myrtle Parsons

Independence

Mrs. Margaret Shellito

Iowa City

Mrs. Vern W. Bales

Mrs. Ernest Bright
E. A. Eaton
Chas. A. Hawthorn
James L. Lambert
Robert J. Miller
George V. Nesheim
Harold Reedquist
Frank C. Speidel
C. Merton Spicer
Mrs. Faye H. Strayer
Everett Waller, Jr.
Jamaica
Mrs. John W. Crabb
Jewell
Dr. Carl A. Heise, Jr.
Kellogg
Dr. F. S. Hill
Laurens
Fred C. Gilchrist
Linn Grove
Miss Edna Robbins
Lisbon
Mrs. S. F. Emerson
Liscomb
Garrett W. Biersborn
Dr. P. L. Marble
Manly
Glenn Pogeler
Mrs. Gabriel S. Westly
Marengo
Mrs. Zola M. Healey
Marion
Hillis Gill
Mason City
William Nicholas, Jr.
Marion E. Olson
Bert R. Thomas

Melvin
Lyle D. Mottinger
Arnold R. Stradinger
Missouri Valley
Robert W. Harvey
Monona
Bill Baskerville
Montezuma
Mrs. Thomas C. Ross
David Sutherland, Sr.
Morning Sun
Kenneth R. Moore
Moulton
Mrs. Bess S. Newcomer
Mount Union
Mrs. E. W. Ozias
Mount Vernon
Ira L. Davis
Clyde C. Tull
Muscatine
Dr. J. Donald McPike
Newball
H. E. Weichman
Newton
Dr. William Cather
Neal Hammer
Mrs. P. J. McCloskey
Miss Eleanor L. Wheeler
Odebolt
George W. Dresselhuus
Orange City
Public Library
Oskaloosa
Carroll L. Brown
Mrs. John N. McCoy
Mrs. Ernest H. Shaw
Mrs. Edwin S. Swaney

Ottumwa

Don L. Teal
Elmer J. Vaughan

Pocahontas

Mrs. Loren Oleson
Chas. E. Watts
Miss Frances Young

Postville

Clifford W. DeGarmo

Red Oak

Mrs. Gordon E. Anderson
Mrs. Bonnie Boll
Mrs. Effie M. Fridolph
Mrs. Merrill A. Olson
Mrs. R. M. Spencer
Mrs. Harry B. Turner

Rolfe

Guy G. Butler

Scranton

Mrs. John W. Thomas

Shell Rock

Hoyt M. Elliott

Shenandoah

Mrs. Willard D. Archie
Mrs. Peter Jacobs

Springville

Dale Stentz

Storm Lake

W. C. Jarnagin

Stuart

Mrs. Ward M. Koons

Thornburg

Mrs. C. B. Davis

Union

Wilbur E. Jessup

Vinton

W. J. Norris

Wadena

Mrs. Lyle Whittenbaugh

Washington

Mrs. J. E. Lemmon
Harry W. Ramseyer

Waterloo

Robert A. Brown
Mrs. Alvin Butler
A. L. Obert
Charles R. Shane

Waukeez

Mrs. John B. O'Rourke

Webster

Mrs. F. L. Wright

Webster City

Mrs. J. R. Buxton
Fred Hahne

West Branch

Mrs. Anna Edwards

West Des Moines

Mrs. W. H. McIntyre

Williamsburg

Mrs. M. F. Bricker

California

Mrs. Jonathan Garst, Davis
Mrs. Fred Garrison, San Marino

Colorado

Ivan H. Cummings, Ft. Collins

Idaho

Sig H. Seashore, Lewiston

Illinois

Dr. Robert H. Seashore, Wilmette

Indiana

Walter O. Forster, Lafayette

Michigan

G. Riddell Jones, Detroit

Minnesota

Charles L. Miller, Madison

New York

J. M. Hickerson, New York

North Dakota

North Dakota Agricultural

College Library, Fargo

South Dakota

Carl G. Seashore, Sioux Falls

Washington, D. C.

Sam Louis Bakeris, Jr.

Canada

Carl J. Strayer, Regina, Sask.

Germany

Bayerische Staatsbibl, Muenchen

Universitaetsbibliothek,

Goettingen

Other Historical Activities

At the annual meeting of the American Association for State and Local History at Portland, Oregon, August 28-31, 1950, a symposium was held on the subject of historical manuscripts. This discussion has now been published in pamphlet form by the Association, under the title "Where are the Historical Manuscripts?" Herbert A. Kellar of the McCormick Library, Chicago; William N. Bischoff, S. J., of Gonzaga University, Spokane, Washington; Harry C. Bauer, director of libraries at the University of Washington at Seattle; and S. K. Stevens, state historian of Pennsylvania, took part in the symposium. The conclusion was that what is needed is a National Union Catalog of Historical Manuscript Collections, to enable researchers to locate needed material. Mr. Stevens also made a plea for more microfilming of historical documents. The 1951 annual meeting of the American Association for State and Local History was held at Newark, Delaware, June 14-16. On June 16 the program was held in New Castle, Delaware, in connection with the 300th anniversary celebration of the Dutch founding of that town.

The sixty-fifth annual meeting of the American Historical Association was held in Chicago, December 28-30, 1950. Robert L. Schuyler was elected president of the Association for 1951; James G. Randall was elected vice-president.

The forty-fourth meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association was held at Cincinnati, Ohio, April 19-21, 1951. Professor Merle Curti of the University of Wisconsin was elected president for the 1951-1952 year, while Professor James L. Sellers of the University of Nebraska was elected vice-president.

The annual meeting of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin was held June 1-3, 1951, at the American Baptist Assembly, Greene Lake. The Society is making plans for the development of a period farm museum at Nelson Dewey State Park, covering the 1860's and 1870's. Another project of the Society is its work on Labor History, which includes tape recordings of interviews with labor leaders and the collection of labor records for the library. Work is progressing also on a *Dictionary of Wisconsin Biography*.

Historical tours by air are a new feature of this air-minded age. A series of historical tours to be made by personal pilots of Wisconsin began on June 9 with a tour of historical shrines in Illinois. This event was sponsored jointly by the State Historical Societies of Wisconsin and Illinois, by the Wisconsin Aeronautics Commission, and by the Illinois Department of Aeronautics. In July the fliers visited Detroit for the 250th anniversary celebration of the founding of that city by Cadillac. Flights into Minnesota and Iowa are planned for August and September.

Iowa Historical Activities

The first man to receive the new "Iowa Award" will be Herbert Hoover, former president of the United States. The presentation of the Award will be made on August 30, 1951, before the grandstand at the Iowa State Fair. This Award grows out of the sale of the centennial coins issued in 1947. The proceeds are being used for two purposes: one, to establish scholarships; the other, to make awards to persons of Iowa residence or nativity. The award will be in the form of two medallions and a parchment. The medallions are being cut and will be cast by Raoul Delmare; the parchment is lettered by Dale Ballentyne — both of the fine arts department of the State University of Iowa.

Dr. Louis B. Schmidt, professor of history at Iowa State College at Ames, was invited by the Brookings Institution of Washington, D. C., to participate in a National Seminar Conference on Problems in United States Foreign Policy in St. Louis, on May 3-8, 1951. The conference was devoted to a consideration of two problems: (1) collective security measures under the United Nations; and (2) Anglo-American economic relations.

The twenty-ninth annual History Conference was held at the State University of Iowa on April 27 and 28, 1951, under the sponsorship of the department of history, the extension division, the college of education, and

the graduate college of the University. Speakers were Professor Raymond P. Stearns of the University of Illinois, Dean Elmer Ellis of the University of Missouri, Professor Emeritus Charles H. McIlwain of Harvard University, Professor Edgar B. Wesley of the University of Minnesota, and Professor Charles J. Ritchey of Drake University.

A plaque honoring Grenville M. Dodge, Iowa's famous railroad builder and soldier, has been placed in the city hall at Council Bluffs. A replica of General Dodge's study has been dedicated at the Council Bluffs library. It will contain most of the books from the Dodge home at Council Bluffs.

The books, papers, Indian relics, and geological specimens of the late Dr. Ellison Orr, archaeologist, are to be presented to the Effigy Mounds National Monument, and will be housed in a museum there.

Mrs. W. C. MacMartin was re-elected president of the Tama County Historical Society at its annual meeting on April 14, 1951. Harold Hufford of Toledo was elected vice-president, and E. A. Benson of Toledo, secretary-treasurer. The society now has 51 exhibit cases to house the large collection of historical materials which have been presented by Tama County residents. A recent addition is a photostatic copy of the land patent granted by the federal government to Abraham Lincoln for 40 acres of land in Howard township.

The Linn County Historical Society, first organized in 1904, is being revived under the sponsorship of Stewart Holmes of Cedar Rapids. A meeting was held April 25, 1951, at the public library in Cedar Rapids.

The annual meeting of the Mahaska County Historical Society was held at Oskaloosa on May 9, 1951. Open House at the society's museum in the courthouse was also held that day.

Winneshiek County school children have been working on several themes in Iowa history which will be exhibited at the Winneshiek County Fair in August, 1951. Among the subjects represented are: the pioneers; Iowa education; Iowa farmers; Iowa religion; transportation progress; Iowa manufacturing; recreation in Iowa; and Winneshiek County's local history.

The centennial originally planned at Waukon for 1951 has been post-

poned to 1953. Research has disclosed that Waukon, although founded in 1851, did not actually exist as a town until 1853.

The Iowa Archaeological Society was formally organized at a meeting at McGregor May 19-20, 1951. W. J. Kennedy, the superintendent of the Effigy Mounds National Monument, was elected president; Dr. H. P. Field, Decorah, vice-president; and D. E. Chase, Decorah, secretary-treasurer. A publication, to be known as the "Iowa Archaeologist," will be started soon. A second meeting is planned for October.

Sidney, county seat of Fremont County, will celebrate its centennial during 1951. A committee, composed of Warren Raney, Geo. P. Gilbert, J. R. Feauto, and Bill Penn will make plans for the celebration, which will probably take place in September.

The Charles City centennial was celebrated May 28-30, 1951, under the direction of Richard Bailey and Bruce Smucker. A square dance, parade, and free circus were part of the celebration.

The seventy-fifth anniversary of Grundy Center will be celebrated in 1952, under the auspices of the Grundy Community Club.

A centennial song, "The Waters of Clear Lake," has been composed by John Kopecky, director of the Clear Lake public school instrumental music department, and arranged by Meredith Willson, well-known orchestra leader who spent his youth in Mason City and Clear Lake. The centennial, which was held July 14-15, 1951, was attended by a band of Sac and Fox Indians from the reservation near Tama.

HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

Book Notes

Americans from Norway. By Leola Nelson Bergmann. (New York, J. B. Lippincott Co., 1950. \$3.50.) The *Peoples of America Series*, studies of the various nationalities which go to make up the American character, was begun several years ago. Already books on the Dutch, the Swedes, the English, and many others have been published. The Norwegians, ably represented by Leola Nelson Bergmann, are among the most important nationalities in the amalgam which is American civilization; only the Irish have sent a larger proportion of their people to the United States. First Europeans to visit the American continent — when Lief Erikson and his vikings discovered a new land in the eleventh century — the role of the Norwegians, from farming to the professions, has been wide, varied, and productive of much good to American civilization. Mrs. Bergmann, herself of Norwegian descent, has written a book of sound scholarship in a lucid literary style. Her work will prove of interest and value to all who are seeking a wider understanding of our national culture. Iowans in particular will find much of their local history in *Americans from Norway*. Readers of the JOURNAL will remember Mrs. Bergmann's article, "The Negro in Iowa," in the January, 1948, issue of this quarterly.

Horace Greeley: Voice of the People. By William Harlan Hale. (New York, Harper & Bros., 1950.) Horace Greeley was one of the most colorful and most influential men of the nineteenth century in America. His life story touches almost every phase of America's history from the 1830's to the 1870's. He was not only the most popular and best known newspaper editor in the United States — his *New York Tribune* was a political Bible in the Middle West for many years — but his hand was felt in politics, in war and peace, in the several humanitarian movements of the mid-century, and, finally, in the Liberal Republican revolt of 1872. Discontented Republicans and leaderless Democrats, in that last year of Greeley's life, chose him as the standard-bearer of that short-lived effort at national reform. Mr. Hale has written a biography of Greeley which will be read and enjoyed by all.

Agricultural Discontent in the Middle West, 1900-1939. By Theodore Saloutos and John D. Hicks. (Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1951. \$6.75.) In a brilliant study of some 550 pages, Professors Saloutos and Hicks have made a real contribution to the understanding of the farm problems of the first four decades of the twentieth century. Introductory chapters, by Dr. Hicks, discuss the region of the "Middle West" and the background of twentieth century Insurgency. Dr. Saloutos' chapters on the various farm organizations—the Cooperative Movement, the American Society of Equity, the Nonpartisan League, and the Farmers' Union and Farm Bureau—show the growth and development of the farmers' movements. Further chapters cover the depression years, the famous Farm Strike of the 1930's, and the New Deal program for agriculture. The authors' conclusions are that leadership in the farm protest movement was centered largely in the Middle West for a number of reasons: the background of nineteenth century agrarian revolt, represented by the Grange, Greenbackism, the Farmers' Alliance, and Populism, was strongest there; antimonopoly sentiment was likewise strongest there because it was primarily an agricultural area, dependent on long hauls and high freight rates both for the products it sold and the goods it bought; the leaders of the protest movement were largely Middle Westerners—La Follette of Wisconsin, Cummins of Iowa, Norris of Nebraska, Shipstead of Minnesota, and many others. These are only a few of the many reasons given for Middle Western discontent, pointed out in a closely-written chapter, "Epilogue." Farmers of the nineteenth century had put their faith in trust-busting to solve their problems; farmers of the twentieth turned to building "restrictive devices patterned to a great degree after those of industry." This is an important book and a real contribution to agricultural history as well as to an understanding of the place of the farm movement in recent American history.

Tyrant from Illinois: Uncle Joe Cannon's Experiment with Personal Power. By Blair Bolles. (New York, W. W. Norton & Co., 1951. \$4.50.) Joseph Gurney Cannon, Speaker of the House of Representatives from 1906 to 1910, was so conservative, said one of his enemies, that in a caucus on Creation, he would have voted for chaos. One of the most colorful, most loved, and most hated Speakers in the history of American government, Cannon has long deserved a good biography. Mr. Bolles has based his book

on a study of the papers of Cannon and other leading politicians of his day, and has written both a readable book and a contribution to the history of the turbulent years of the insurgent-standpatter feud of the first decade of the twentieth century.

Mileposts on the Prairie. The Story of the Minneapolis & St. Louis Railway. By Frank P. Donovan, Jr. (New York, Simmons-Boardman Publishing Corp., 1950. \$4.50.) The M&StL, which crosses Iowa from north to south, entering the state at Northwood, and running through Mason City, Marshalltown, Grinnell, and Oskaloosa, has a long and varied history. The present road is a combination of the M&StL begun in Minnesota and the Iowa Central begun in Iowa, both in the early 1870's. Mr. Donovan has done an excellent job of telling the story of the railroad and of the men who made it possible.

The Illinois Military Tract: A Study of Land Occupation, Utilization and Tenure. By Theodore L. Carlson. (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1951.) This is Number 2 of Volume XXXII of the Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences. It is a complete economic study of a large area in west-central Illinois, of about two million acres, which was set aside by Congress in 1812 to provide military land bounties to soldiers of the War of 1812. The volume carries the history of this region down to 1900.

A Friendly Mission: John Candler's Letters from America, 1853-1854. (Indianapolis, Indiana Historical Society Publication, Vol. 16, No. 1, 1951. \$1.00.) John Candler, an English Quaker, and four companions visited America in the 1850's on an anti-slavery mission. During his travels Candler wrote long letters to his wife, describing their varied experiences through the Middle West and the South. These letters have now been published by the Indiana Historical Society and will prove a valuable source of information on America in the pre-Civil War years.

Articles

The Winter, 1951, issue of *American Heritage* contains a variety of articles. H. Paul Caemmerer is the author of an article on the city of Washington, now 150 years old. "San Gabriel" is an article on "the first Spanish Capital in the American Southwest," contributed by John L. Sinclair. Wisconsin's State Historical Society is discussed and illustrated by

Perry C. Hill. Of timely interest is a story of the White House — "The House That Nearly Fell" — by Randle Bond Truett. Paintings illustrative of American life, in the Corcoran Gallery at Washington, are described and illustrated in "American Processional, 1492-1900," by Blanche Magurn Leeper, while another article on American art, illustrated with pictures from Washington's National Gallery, is "Index of American Design," by Holger Cahill. A third article of interest to artists is "American Primitives, Paintings and People," by Alice Winchester. "Fourscore and seven years ago," Lincoln spoke at the dedication of a cemetery at Gettysburg; Joseph Kingston reviews that event in "Last Act: Gettysburg 1863." "Social Life in Colonial Williamsburg" is described by Arthur Pierce Middleton, director of that now famous restoration of a complete colonial town. Helen Hartness Flanders, who has for the past twenty years been gathering on tape and record the folk songs of America, tells of her experiences in "Songs Alive, from Revolutionary Times." Clifford Wilson's article on "Battles on Hudson's Bay" is illustrated with pictures from the records of the Hudson's Bay Company. A final article on "Photography's Hall of Fame" by Cedric Larson is an account of Eastman House at Rochester, which just one year ago began the collection and preservation of a record of photography.

Samuel Eliot Morison's presidential address to the American Historical Association, "Faith of a Historian," appears in the January, 1951, *American Historical Review*. Dr. Morison disclaims any search for a "law of history"; rather, he has "cultivated the vast garden of human experience which is history," without troubling himself "over-much about laws, essential first causes, or how it is all coming out." His credo, he concludes, is: "I seek to learn." In the same issue of the *Review*, Jeannette P. Nichols contributes an article on "Roosevelt's Monetary Diplomacy in 1933."

An article on military history is "The Atlanta Campaign, 1864," by George C. Osborn, in the December, 1950, issue of *The Georgia Historical Quarterly*.

Two articles on the 1864 national presidential campaign by William Frank Zornow have been published. In the Winter, 1950, *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, the subject is "McClellan and Seymour in the Chicago Convention of 1864"; in the January, 1951, *Bulletin of the*

Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, the article deals with "Lincoln, Chase, and the Ohio Radicals in 1864."

Missouri, during the Civil War, was a battleground for the Secessionists and Unionists of the state. Arthur Roy Kirkpatrick discusses "Missouri's Secessionist Government, 1861-1865," in the January, 1951, *Missouri Historical Review*.

Another article on the "Great Commoner" appears in the December, 1950, *Nebraska History*: "William Jennings Bryan in Oklahoma," by Norbert R. Mahnken.

"Military Trails in North Dakota: Fort Abercrombie to Fort Ransom, With Notes on the History of Fort Ransom," by Dana Wright appeared in the October, 1950, *North Dakota History*. The article is illustrated by maps of the trail in Ransom and Richland counties.

The January, 1951, issue of *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* contains the following articles of general interest: "Financing the Fremont Campaign," by James A. Rawley; "The Urban Missionary Movement, 1814-1837," by Charles I. Foster; and "Medicine in Philadelphia and Boston, 1805-1830," by Leonard K. Eaton.

An article of general interest in the September-December, 1950, *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* is "The Liberal Republican Revolt of 1872 and the Oil Regions," by Harold M. Helfman.

The January, 1951, issue of *The William and Mary Quarterly* is devoted to commemorating the bicentennial of the birth of James Madison. Articles contributed are by Irving Brant, Theodore Bolton, Douglass Adair, Margaret Bailey Tinkcom, and H. Trevor Colbourn.

"The Menominee River" by W. E. Schubert is the introductory article in the Winter, 1950, *Wisconsin Magazine of History*. "Trade Silver and Indian Silversmiths," by David A. Baerreis, is illustrated with pictures of the silver ornaments and objects in the Museum of the Wisconsin Historical Society. "Grandma's House" is a reminiscent article by Anna Kellman Whitchurch. Vernon Carstensen, in "Adventure in Cooperation," discusses the complementary growth of the libraries of the Wisconsin State Historical Society and the University of Wisconsin.

A history of the country store would hardly be considered important by some readers of history, yet it has a very important place in American social history. Thomas D. Clark, professor of history at the University of Kentucky, and author of a delightful book on the country store entitled *Pills, Petticoats and Plows*, has contributed an article, "The Country Store in American Social History," to the April, 1951, *Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*. Dr. Clark concludes his article: "Writers of social history would likewise do well to remember that the history of the country store is not alone a story of a sentimental institution about which they are writing, but rather the much bigger one of the distribution of goods and molding of the American taste before a large portion of this country's expanding population was finally coagulated into a predominantly urban pattern." The author suggests that communities and historical societies would do well to preserve the records of these stores before they are "cast into the fire or hauled away to the dump heap."

A contribution to medical history is an article by Howard D. Kramer of Western Reserve University, "An Ohio Doctor in the Early Navy," in the April, 1951, *Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*. Dr. Kramer wrote the article from the original journals of Lewis A. Wolfley, an Ohio doctor who served in the United States Navy from 1832 to 1844.

John Higham of the University of California at Los Angeles has contributed an article to the April, 1951, *American Historical Review* on "The Rise of American Intellectual History" which merits a careful study. The article discusses the development of the study of ideas in history. "In intellectual history," writes Dr. Higham, "the search for connections between bodies of thought and related areas of intellectual or social experience was central and systematic."

The March, 1951, *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* contains the following articles: "Richard T. Ely, Forerunner of Progressivism, 1880-1901," by Sidney Fine; "The Mississippi Valley and American Foreign Policy, 1890-1941: An Assessment and an Appeal," by Richard W. Leopold; "A New Evaluation of Henry Hamilton and George Rogers Clark," by John D. Barnhart; "The Agricultural Issue in the Presidential Campaign of 1928," by Gilbert Fite; and "Royal Navy Impressment During the American Revolution," by Roland G. Usher, Jr.

The *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, March, 1951, contains an article by Hildegard Binder Johnson on "The Location of German Immigrants in the Middle West." Dr. Johnson's researches in Iowa show that in the mid-nineteenth century in Iowa the Germans tended to settle in the so-called "River" counties along the Mississippi, and especially in the larger towns of those river counties.

In 1864 the two Kansas senators, James H. Lane and Samuel C. Pomeroy, supported different candidates for the presidential nomination: Lane was a Lincoln man, while Pomeroy preferred Salmon P. Chase. The story of the role of these Kansans in the pre-convention campaign is told by William Frank Zornow in "The Kansas Senators and the Re-election of Lincoln" in the May, 1951, *Kansas Historical Quarterly*.

That the Midwest, once the home of Populism and Progressivism, is now a center of conservatism and opposition to progressive political doctrines, is the theme of Walter Johnson in "Politics in the Midwest," in the March, 1951, *Nebraska History*. His article is an able and thought-provoking survey of politics in the Middle Western states from the Populist days of the 1890's to the present. The same issue of this quarterly contains a document of interest to railroad historians: "The Plattsmouth Letters of Cyrus Woodman, 1869-1870," edited by C. L. Marquette.

The Spring, 1951, issue of *American Heritage* is devoted largely to articles on Hawaii. Additional articles are on the famous battle of San Jacinto, which gave Texas its independence; on historical fakes and forgeries; on the Vermont marble which was used in building the United Nations building in New York; on clipper ship sailing cards, and on Admiral George G. Dewey.

The Spring, 1951, issue of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* contains much good reading for those interested in local history. Richard H. Shryock of Johns Hopkins University has written on "Changing Perspectives in Local History," a challenging article which makes a strong plea for more attention to history at the local level. The County Commission was Wisconsin's first local government; thus, the article, "The Development of the Office of County Clerk in Wisconsin," by Lorentz H. Adolfson will prove valuable to those who wish to trace the growth of local government. Two addresses, made at the dedication of the new American History Research Center at the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, are published in this

issue: one by George Banta, Jr., president of the Society; the other by Walter J. Kohler, Jr., governor of Wisconsin. Benton H. Wilcox is gathering information on the location of Wisconsin material at the Library of Congress, the National Archives, and other libraries, in preparation for Wisconsin's large microfilm project. His "Wisconsin Report" gives details on some of the material he has uncovered in his searches, and also the magnitude of the project.

Iowa

A large part of the January, 1951, issue of the *Annals of Iowa* is devoted to an article by Frank C. Arena on "Southern Sympathizers in Iowa During Civil War Days." Many Iowans will be surprised at the widespread "Copperheadism" in a strong Union state. Emory H. English, Editor Associate of the *Annals*, writes of General Eastin Morris, editor of the *Morris Reports* which contain the first decisions handed down by the Territorial Supreme Court of Iowa. Morris' career is discussed in "Gen. Eastin Morris Served Iowa."

A history of the work of the Vinton School for the Blind appeared in the December 31, 1950, *Waterloo Courier*. Originally located in Iowa City, the school was moved to Vinton in 1862.

One of the first major train robberies in the United States occurred in southwestern Iowa in July, 1873, when the famous James brothers derailed a Rock Island train and escaped with \$3,000. They were too early, however — twenty-four hours later another train passed over the same route, carrying the \$75,000 in gold which Jesse James and his gang wanted. A present-day Rock Island engineer, O. F. Jensen of Council Bluffs, passes the site of this famous train robbery daily; he is instituting plans for the erection of an historical marker on the spot. The story of Mr. Jensen's plans, and of the 1873 robbery, is told in the December 31, 1950, issue of the *Council Bluffs Nonpareil*.

A story of Iowa's "underground railway," together with a map of the route for escaping slaves from Indianola to Des Moines, is told by George Shane in the December 31, 1950, issue of the *Des Moines Register*. P. K. McKee of Indianola and Dr. M. A. DaShiell of Hartford were famous "conductors" on the "railway." The story is illustrated by pictures of the two men and of various houses or "stations" on the road.

The Blue Earth River in Kossuth County is a small river with a long history, according to a story by Mrs. Walter G. Smith in the January 4, 1951, *Algona Upper Des Moines*. Originating in the Union Slough, the river flows north into Minnesota. Some 300 years ago French explorers visited the river in Minnesota, hoping to find copper in the "blue earth" from which the river took its name. Tons of the blue mud were taken back to France where they proved to be "just that — blue mud." Indians and explorers such as Stephen Kearny and Daniel Boone's son, Nathan, and John C. Fremont knew the river. "The little river was also a road to freedom for at least one Negro who fled from Southern masters" in 1855, according to Mrs. Smith's story.

The unincorporated town of Miller in Hancock County was founded in 1875, but not platted until 20 years later. In 1951 Miller obtained its first street lights. This event is the occasion for a brief history of the town, which was published in the January 17, 1951, issue of the *Garner Leader*.

In 1847 Conrad Hartwick and his family emigrated from Germany and bought an 80-acre farm near McGregor for \$500. Today, 104 years later, Hartwick's descendants are still living on the same farm. The history of the farm and the family appears in the January 21, 1951, issue of the *Dubuque Telegraph-Herald*, together with a picture of the 22-room farmhouse which replaced the log cabin in which the Hartwicks first lived.

The Buena Vista College was founded at Storm Lake in 1892 by the Presbyterian Church. Over the years since, the college has struggled constantly with financial difficulties; but in 1941 it was at last out of debt. Bill Richards gives a brief history of the college in the February 15, 1951, issue of the *Storm Lake Pilot Tribune*.

C. M. Chapman of Dunlap is the owner of a valuable "day-book" kept by his grandfather, James Herrington, in 1835 when he was a storekeeper in Geneva, Illinois. Entries in the book show how widespread were the interests of storekeeping in the early nineteenth century: in addition to selling everything from oxen to needles, the store operated as a labor exchange and a bank. The story of Mr. Chapman's historical document is told in the March 2, 1951, issue of the *Council Bluffs Nonpareil*.

The last streetcar in Des Moines ceased operation on March 5, 1951. Operation of electric streetcars began in Des Moines in 1888. A brief his-

tory of Des Moines's electric streetcars, now all replaced by motor buses, is told in the March 4, 1951, issue of the *Des Moines Register*.

A history of the German Mutual Insurance Company of Eldora, a 75-year-old organization, is told by Dolly Brause in the April 1, 1951, issue of the *Cedar Rapids Gazette*. Organized in June, 1877, to serve the Germans of the community, the company has survived and flourished until its insurance in force now totals \$23,600,000.

According to a story by Ed Grady in the April 12, 1951, issue of the *Maquoketa Community Press*, "the first telephone exchange in the state of Iowa was set up right here in Maquoketa 71 years ago March 10 by the Jackson County Bell Telephone company." Two years before that day in 1880, however, a Des Moines businessman had bought two of the "contraptions" and installed them, one in his home and one in his office downtown. People thought them amusing "playthings."

David T. Jones, of Oxford, Ohio, a life member of the State Historical Society of Iowa, has compiled a booklet on *Schools and Colleges of the United Brethren in Christ*. An introduction briefly discusses United Brethren history; schools and colleges are then listed alphabetically with brief historical data. Copies of the booklet may be secured for \$1.25 from the DuBois Book Store, 41 East High Street, Oxford, Ohio.

The April, 1951, issue of the *Annals of Iowa* contains a useful article compiled by Maude Lauderdale, entitled "How Justice Came to Webster County." The article gives a brief history of the legal development of the county from the earliest Claim Clubs to the present day, and includes biographies of the leading members of the bar in the early days. A. M. Henderson contributes a reminiscent article, "My Years in Story County," to the same issue of the *Annals*. "On the Road to Bethlehem," by O. J. Pruitt, is the story of the Missouri River traders of the early nineteenth century.

Polo and pioneering are not often found together. Yet in the 1870's Plymouth County could boast of a settlement of English "lords and ladies" who farmed in formal attire and who developed one of the first polo teams in the United States. Attracted to the "wild west" of Iowa by advertisements in the newspapers, the Close brothers of England — William, Fred, and James — bought 16,080 acres of Plymouth County land for \$2.40 an

acre. Soon thousands of young and wealthy Englishmen had migrated to Iowa, "dressed in the height of Paris fashion, with mountains of luggage." The settlement did not last long — the rigors of frontier life were too much for the titled Englishmen. After several years the Close brothers sold out their holdings and returned, with the other colonists, to England. Laurretta Kass Trafler has written a lively account of this English colony for the *Sioux City Journal* of May 27, 1951.

CONTRIBUTORS

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COVER

The Kimball farm home in Jones County in 1885. This picture, and those between pages 314-315, were furnished through the courtesy of Merrill E. Jarchow of Northfield, Minnesota.

THE EDUCATION OF JOHN A. KASSON*

By Edward Younger

At no other period in his life span of four score and eight years did John A. Kasson — politician, diplomat, legislator, lecturer, and author — rise so rapidly as in Iowa during the four years immediately preceding the Civil War. At the age of thirty-five, an unknown lawyer and without influential acquaintances, he turned up at the shabby little village of Des Moines late in 1857. Within a few months he was the governor's confidential adviser; within a year, state chairman of the central committee directing a young and vigorous Republican party; within three years, a useful delegate to the national convention which nominated Lincoln and co-author of the most significant political platform of the nineteenth century; and within four years, one of the half dozen most powerful politicians in Iowa and a vital influence in the national administration at Washington as Lincoln's first assistant postmaster general.

Kasson's swift political ascent must be attributed in part to significant political and economic developments taking place in Des Moines, in Iowa, and in the nation. But it must also be attributed in part to his youthful training and education, which for his day was decidedly superior.

John Adam Kasson was born January 11, 1822, at Charlotte, Vermont, where summer's cool, gentle breezes from the Green and Adirondack mountains meet and caress the eastern shore of Lake Champlain. The next year President James Monroe, in a memorable message to Congress, warned Europe to keep hands off America. At Brandon, Vermont, young Stephen A. Douglas worked for his uncle and attended the district school. At West Haven young Horace Greeley cleared land and fulminated against the hardships of boyhood in Vermont. Thad Stevens of Peacham, nearing thirty years, had already emigrated to Pennsylvania. A few years later Chester A.

*This article is based on the author's research for a full-length biography of John Adam Kasson. For the use of the letters and papers of John A. Kasson (hereafter referred to as *Wead Collection*), the author is indebted to Kasson's relatives, the Misses Eunice and Katharine Wead of Hartford, Connecticut, and Mr. Frederick W. Wead of Boston, Massachusetts. In support of his research on Kasson, the author has received grants from the University of Virginia Institute for Research in the Social Sciences and from the Richmond Area University Center.

Arthur was born at Fairfield and George Franklin Edmunds at Richmond. Sixteen years later the territory of Iowa was created.

Kasson was born not loaded with gold though many Americans of humbler origins have risen to prominence. Five years previously his grandfather Adam, patriarch of the migrating flock, had mustered half enough capital from his possessions in Huntington, Connecticut, to purchase 100 acres of improved land in Charlotte. For the rest he mortgaged the farm, and it took seven long years of toil and thrift to pay off the debt.¹ He was foresighted in choosing a place for his brood.

In the year of John Adam's birth a canal connecting Lake Champlain with the Hudson River was completed. People in the Champlain Valley thereafter prospered, and Vermont for the first time became firmly attached to the Union. In the rest of the state the frontier boom ended, economic decline set in, and by the end of the next three decades almost half the restless population had surged westward. Towns like Charlotte lying along the eastern shore of the Lake with easy access to the markets of the New York area now grew at the expense of those inland.²

In the Champlain Valley of John Kasson's youth clearings had become farms, and forests, woodlots. Neat, white, story-and-a-half houses had replaced log cabins. Occasionally there arose a large, square or rectangular, two or three story, white house like the Kassons', imposing and at the same time simple, with its doorways of dainty details and mantles of native marble. Close in were barns and sheds surrounded by orchards, meadows, and pastures. Along the brooks were grist, saw, and cider mills, iron forges, tanneries, and distilleries.³

The Kassons lived in the southwestern part of the town near the Lake, in a village called Charlotte (or Baptist) Four Corners. Over the years past

¹ The purchase price was \$3,500; the mortgage of \$1,900 with interest was paid off in 1824. *Charlotte Land Records*, VI, 289, 300; VII, 201; VIII, 12, 20.

² W. S. Rann (ed.), *History of Chittenden County, Vermont* (Syracuse, 1886), 311, 325; A. M. Hemenway (ed.), *Vermont Historical Gazetteer* (3 vols., Burlington, 1868), 1:693-7; L. D. Stillwell, *Migrations from Vermont* (Montpelier, 1948), 64, 154, 176, 200; Chilton Williamson, *Vermont in Quandary, 1763-1825* (Montpelier, 1949), 283, 288.

³ Stillwell, *Migrations from Vermont*, 98. In 1823 Charlotte contained three saw-mills (one sawing marble), four gristmills, five taverns, five tanneries, eight blacksmiths, and one distillery producing 2,400 gallons of cider brandy and 3,000 gallons of whiskey. Zadock Thompson, *A Gazetteer of the State of Vermont* (Montpelier, 1824), 100. The old Kasson home, badly run down, was still standing in 1946.

the Lake had receded two miles, leaving a commanding elevation upon which rested the Kasson home, a former inn and tavern.⁴ Below, and rolling gently toward the Lake, was the Kasson farm. To the west, north, and south young John could gaze upon a broad expanse of blue water ornamented with irregular small bays and trim, little fleets of sloops and schooners. Beyond the Lake as far as his eyes could see were the picturesque Adirondack Mountains of New York. To the east, and nearer, were the rugged, irregular Green Mountains challenging his "youthful ambition to climb higher, to overcome obstacles, and giving him thoughts of a wider view of a wider world." Add sunsets and twilights, and the natural environment inspired the boy to "imagination and poetical sentiment."⁵

Some of his childhood memories he cherished; others he liked to forget. In later years it was a pleasure to recall the "whole view of the old garden, tall pear trees, blue plum trees, peach trees, berry bushes and beds, old peony stalks (. . . the four enormous heads in the middle of the garden with their monstrous red eyes), the flowering almond, the early jonquil, the yellow and crimson tulip, the big snow ball, and the great rose next to the gate;"⁶ or the bird voices singing among the clump of beeches near the old schoolhouse where he used to swing;⁷ or even the beet and onion beds which he had to weed till he doubted if nature's "fondness for weeds could be reconciled with her friendship for humanity." He enjoyed the winter evening spelling school which gave his "ambition a little scope"; and his "reckless indiscretion" at winter sports on snow and ice which in the absence of a father's supervision led to numerous, dangerous accidents. His best remembered friend was his intelligent Newfoundland dog, Buck, who carried notes to him at school, brought bottled beer to the field hands, and rescued his drowning brother. Old Buck, ever constant, "of many virtues and no faults," taught him fidelity to friends, he later recorded in his reminiscences.

⁴ Rann (ed.), *History of Chittenden County . . .*, 536; *Charlotte Land Records*, X, 375.

⁵ From Kasson's own account of his boyhood, *Wead Collection*. This manuscript of about 2,500 words in Kasson's longhand, written when he was about eighty, will be cited hereafter as *Memoirs of Boyhood*.

⁶ Kasson, St. Louis, to his sister Mary and his mother, May 4, 1851, *Wead Collection*.

⁷ Kasson, Fryston Hall, Femjbridge, England, to his sisters, June 12, 1867, *Wead Collection*.

Kasson did not recount all his boyhood experiences so fondly. The "bright and gay"⁸ did not predominate in the life of a Vermont boy in the 1820's and 1830's. As experienced by Horace Greeley and many others, farm life borne by the younger children was "mindless, monotonous drudgery, instead of an ennobling, liberalizing, intellectual pursuit" and its "weary sense of routine futility"⁹ drove from the state many young men, once the legal ties to their families ended at twenty-one. Young John Kasson, however, was more fortunate. His boyhood tasks were "slight, only incidental labor, light duties morning and evening with horses, cattle" and other chores, giving him time to read, wander in the woods, and get into mischief.¹⁰ But duty, not pleasure, was the main theme, he observed, "till I pushed my boat of personal adventure from the shore."¹¹

Charlotte was a town where common school, Sunday school, and the church were the controlling influences. Following the revolutionary era of religious liberalism, successive waves of revivalism swept Vermont in Kasson's youth, creating general unrest and inspiring organizations for the salvation of the world, like the temperance crusade and the colonization society for Negroes; and at the same time re-establishing the Puritan atmosphere of restraint with its coldness, rigidity, and strict morality.¹²

Though a church (probably Baptist) stood at Charlotte Four Corners, the "leading farmers" wended their way on Sundays about a mile eastward up the road through a gorge between two high hills to attend the orthodox Congregational Church and Sunday school. Here young Kasson spent a tedious day, attending long services in the morning and evening with Sunday school in between; listened to a preacher in a lofty pulpit elaborate upon doctrine and present Hell and Heaven as places of material punishment and reward; heard bickering over theology, church practice, and the personal conduct of members; and overheard the gossip at midday among the older people who found Sunday a relief from the monotony of weekday labors.

⁸ Kasson, *Memoirs of Boyhood*, *Wead Collection*.

⁹ Stillwell, *Migrations from Vermont*, 134, 160.

¹⁰ M. E. Gates (ed.), *Men of Mark in America* (2 vols., Washington, 1906), 2:82. In this biographical sketch Kasson is frequently quoted.

¹¹ Kasson, *Memoirs of Boyhood*, *Wead Collection*.

¹² D. M. Ludlum, *Social Ferment in Vermont, 1791-1850* (New York, 1939), 24-62; W. H. Crockett, *Vermont, The Green Mountain State* (4 vols., New York, 1921), 3:154; Hemenway (ed.), *Vermont Historical Gazetteer*, 1:737; Stillwell, *Migrations from Vermont*, 137, 179, 203.

In retrospect Kasson thought the preacher was too aloof from his people. His sermons failed to emphasize "the active life of Christianity. Deeds of charity and kindness to a fellow man, sympathy with the unfortunate and unhappy, did not count. Faith in doctrine, not a loving Christian life, marked the road to Heaven. It was a cold, unattractive system of so-called religion, which made the people hardheaded and unsympathetic, but rigidly truthful, honest, and self-reliant."¹³

Vermonters revealed the brighter side of the Puritan spirit in their enthusiasm for education. Free common schools in every town, preparatory academies, female seminaries, and cheap tuition at the University provided a "democratic ladder"¹⁴ up which bright, ambitious youths could climb. Circulating libraries, weekly newspapers and dailies from New York,¹⁵ and later lyceums disseminated information and stimulated social ferment. In the 1820's Charlotte itself, with a population of about 1,600, boasted of fourteen school districts and a female seminary along with its distillery and five taverns, "where liquor was a scourge of this town."¹⁶ Several years before Kasson's birth, numerous young men of Charlotte were graduating from Middlebury College and the University of Vermont.¹⁷ Families slaved and saved to send their brighter boys to college.

The responsibility of educating young John fell upon his mother Nancy

¹³ Kasson, *Memoirs of Boyhood*, *Wead Collection*. At the age of fifty-six Kasson confided to his sister Mary that "our particular sort of religious instruction was rather gloomy and led us all . . . to look at life as a sort of special and solemn warning. A better climate and a less gloomy and terrible system of religion would have let us grow old more easily, in love with God and in charity with our neighbors, and in the enjoyment of God's good gifts." Kasson, Vienna, to his sister Mary, Nov. 3, 1878, *Wead Collection*.

¹⁴ Stillwell, *Migrations from Vermont*, 112-14.

¹⁵ The Charlotte Kassons were Democrats and subscribed to William Cullen Bryant's *New York Evening Post*, poisoned "with the gall of Jacksonism." Kasson congratulated the *Post* on its 100th anniversary: "It is now a graybeard among journals, but still shows the ruddy complexion of youth. My earliest journalistic recollection is of its welcome presence in my father's family. . . . Nothing yellow in its face then, and nothing yellow since. Always clean, always honest. Always critical, too, and sometimes too critical of Americans and American affairs, which touched our patriotic sentiments. Its editorials have been models of pure English from the time of Bryant to the beginnings of the XXth Century." Kasson to the *Evening Post*, Oct. 10, 1901, *Kasson Papers* (Iowa State Dept. of History and Archives, Des Moines); Kasson's biographical sketch of himself, *ibid.*, File 9.

¹⁶ Hemenway (ed.), *Vermont Historical Gazetteer*, 1:737; Thompson, *Gazetteer of the State of Vermont*, 36-100.

¹⁷ Hemenway (ed.), *Vermont Historical Gazetteer*, 1:737-8.

(Blackman) Kasson. The early years in Charlotte, though relatively successful economically, were also distressing. Despite harsh weather and pestilence, old Adam Kasson and his wife, Honor Maria, an unmarried son and daughter, and his married son, John Steele, with his wife and five children, paid off the heavily mortgaged farm when John was only two years old.¹⁸

They pursued the usual life of a Vermont farmer of the time, owning a span of oxen, a dozen cows, three or four horses,¹⁹ a fine stallion, and, by 1826, a flock of fifty sheep.²⁰ Into distant markets they sold horses, cattle, sheep, and wool; locally they sold butter, oats, potatoes, fruit, and whatever gadgets they could think up. Men and boys still wore some homemade clothes with such "outward signs of economy as patches on coat and trousers."²¹ Women and girls were "patterns of industry and economy" and took pride in the management of domestic affairs, though a local historian blushed at ordinary misses who aped the rich and attempted to heighten their charms "by excessive ornament in dress."²² John Kasson remembered that a silk dress was a rare purchase, "expected to last a lifetime, and then be made over for the children."²³

In a land and an era noted for diseases in epidemic proportions, like typhus, dysentery, and tuberculosis,²⁴ the Kassons were becoming well established when death strode ruthlessly through the household. Before he was five John lost his father of whose influence there remained only the recollection of a cheerful face, bright laugh, and kindly disposition.²⁵ The next year old Adam, his grandfather, passed away, and three years later his

¹⁸ Charlotte *Land Records*, VIII, 20.

¹⁹ As a boy Kasson was fond of horses in an area where enthusiasm for breeding fine horses rivaled Kentucky. Stillwell, *Migrations from Vermont*, 100, 159; Gates (ed.), *Men of Mark* . . . , 2:82.

²⁰ In the twenties the Saxony Merino "sheep craze" swept Vermont, giving the state King Sheep to rival the South's rising King Cotton. As a boy Kasson undoubtedly heard ringing arguments for a protective tariff on wool. Stillwell, *Migrations from Vermont*, 132, 157, 172, 198, 221.

²¹ Kasson, *Memoirs of Boyhood*, *Wead Collection*.

²² Thompson, *Vermont Historical Gazetteer*, 39.

²³ Kasson, *Memoirs of Boyhood*, *Wead Collection*.

²⁴ Stillwell, *Migrations from Vermont*, 107-108, 128-9, 202.

²⁵ Gates (ed.), *Men of Mark* . . . , 2:82; Kasson, *Memoirs of Boyhood*, *Wead Collection*, Charlotte Town Records, *Gravestone Inscriptions*, Barber Cemetery, Charlotte.

father's surviving brother and sister died. The problems of his training and education now fell upon two widows, his grandmother, Honor, age sixty-four, and his mother, Nancy, age thirty-seven. Both were considered "very intellectual women for their time and opportunities." In her early years in Connecticut Honor Steele Kasson was "quite noted"; she possessed "unusual strength of character and sound judgment."²⁶ Nancy Kasson also must have been endowed with strong character and sound judgment. As remembered by her son, John, she was "Calvinistic, rigid for truth telling . . . against Sabbath breaking and earnest for the education of her children."²⁷ Her photographs show a firm, alert, wise woman with an air of sobriety and determination, of strength and command. To her management, counsel, and decision, John Kasson owed much. The continued success of the farm upon which the livelihood of all depended, and the successful education of her children, attest to her ability.

As the years of the thirties wore "monotonously on" John finished common school with its three R's and the "stern rudiments of New England life." His two brothers and two sisters, all older, "felt bound" to supervise him, but he willfully refused to submit to any of them. He was strong, restless, insubordinate, with an excitable disposition. Headstrong as a youth, so he was as a man. His one great friend who never censored him was his dog, Buck. But he always remembered the general kindness of his sister, Mary Emeline,²⁸ who was patient when he was impatient, loving when he was perverse, understanding when he repented too late. With her from whom he "tried to learn virtue" he was to confide his inner thoughts during spells of loneliness in later life.²⁹ As his older brother, Charles De Forest, matured and became a man of affairs, John admired and respected him but did not always take his advice.

At the age of twelve his family sent him to an academy for boys about twelve miles away, where some of his uncles resided. Finding there the same "rigid orthodoxy, even sterner rules of living, and fewer opportunities for . . . foolish adventures," he did not like it. The next year (1835) his grandmother died, leaving Nancy Kasson and five children to their fate. The family decided to give John a university education. Soon they made

²⁶ Undated letter to Kasson from his sister Mary, *Wead Collection*.

²⁷ Gates (ed.), *Men of Mark* . . . , 2:82.

²⁸ Kasson, *Memoirs of Boyhood*, *Wead Collection*.

²⁹ Kasson, Washington, to his sister Mary, Oct. 13, 1892, *Wead Collection*.

ready to leave Charlotte for a place with better educational and professional opportunities.³⁰

Of all the lake towns, Burlington, a few miles north, was growing fastest. Connected by steamboat with St. Johns to the north, Albany and New York to the south, by turnpike and the Winooski Valley to the east, it bustled with commerce and was becoming one of the great lumber ports of America. Moreover, it was the seat of the state university, a preparatory academy, and the center of a brisk law practice engaging some of the most prominent lawyers of the state. Irish and French Canadians were trickling in to find jobs, saying mass, and creating religious friction. Ambitious maidens were leaving the depleted hill farms of Vermont to teach school and work in the cotton mills of Lowell, Massachusetts, for board and two dollars a week. Mill towns were spreading over the areas of Voluntown, Connecticut, and Huntington, Massachusetts. Economic life in Charlotte was becoming static, while Burlington boomed.³¹

John Kasson's older brother, Charles, age twenty-six, was weary of farming and wanted to read law. Already he had gone partly in debt to purchase a 100-acre farm adjacent to the Kasson homestead, perhaps for speculative purposes.³² John's younger brother, Chester, nearing twenty-one, had departed for Troy, New York, bent on a business career. His two sisters with their education partly finished, perhaps at the Charlotte Female Seminary, were ready to seek employment. John himself, age fifteen, must be given a college education.

So in the fall of 1837, as a serious financial panic blighted the Republic, Nancy Kasson sold the old Charlotte homestead and moved to Burlington. John Kasson never knew what became of his share of the estate but thought the proceeds from the sale "probably became a common fund out of which the children were clad and educated; and then went forth into the world expecting to make their own way in life . . . reared for a sturdy, honest

³⁰ Kasson, *Memoirs of Boyhood*, *Wead Collection*; Charlotte Town Records, *Gravestone Inscriptions*, Barber Cemetery, Charlotte.

³¹ Williamson, *Vermont in Quandary* . . . , 284; Stillwell, *Migrations from Vermont*, 155, 184, 195, 211; Hannah Josephson, *The Gold Threads: New England's Mill Girls and Magnates* (New York, 1949), 78; Helen D. Larned, *History of Windham County, Connecticut* (2 vols., Worcester, Mass.), 2:429-31; Samuel Orcutt and Ambrose Beardsley, *History of . . . Derby* (Springfield, Mass., 1886), 259; Hemenway (ed.), *Vermont Historical Gazetteer*, 1:734-7.

³² Charlotte *Land Records*, X, 138.

and self sustained manhood, independent and resolute, not accustomed to receive or bestow uncompensated favors."³³

Burlington in the late thirties was a charming, busy little village spread neatly over the side of a hill which sloped off gradually into the Lake. From the University on the hilltop students could gaze out over the seven-acre College Green enclosed with a fine white fence and cedar posts, over dwellings, taverns, and stores to the distant horizon in New York; etched in between was the cool face of the Lake, freckled with slow-moving, chugging steamboats and picturesque islands.³⁴

Nancy Kasson found on Main Street in the center of the town a suitable house built with a bombproof cellar to meet an expected British bombardment during the War of 1812. John was immediately assigned a room, and for a year attended the Old Academy, a solitary, two-story brick building standing midway between town and University. He studied Latin, Greek, and mathematics with the hope of passing the University entrance examinations.³⁵

The summer of 1838 saw young John complete his preparatory course at the Old Academy, pass his entrance examinations, and enter the University where life was a vivid contrast with his earlier intellectual and religious experiences. Under the "presiding genius" of Professor James Marsh, the University was going through an era noted for its inspiring faculty, its educational innovations, and its intellectual stimulation. In the words of a responsible admirer, the air was filled with a "lofty intelligence floating sometimes in the cloudland of the Coleridgean philosophy and like the soaring thought of James Marsh lifting some to misty spaces and inspiring men young and old."³⁶

³³ Kasson, *Memoirs of Boyhood*, *Wead Collection*. The farm was sold for \$3,800, or \$300 above what Adam Kasson had paid for it. It is probable that some of its proceeds were divided among the older children, for about two years later Charles De Forest borrowed \$1,000 from his two sisters to apply to the debt on the farm he had purchased at Charlotte. Also the deeds of sale indicate division except for the minors, Chester and John. John's share was undoubtedly used to send him to the University. *Charlotte Land Records*, X, 375-7; XI, 62.

³⁴ University of Vermont, *Student Letters*, Oscar F. Dana, Jr., to D. G. Dana, June 26, 1836.

³⁵ Kasson, *Memoirs of Boyhood*, *Wead Collection*, [An Octogenarian Alumnus], "University Life in the Forties," *Vermont Cynic and Monthly*, 26:28ff. (May 5, 1905).

³⁶ Frederick Tupper, *A Notable Chapter* (Paper read before Phi Beta Kappa, Burlington, 1923), 6.

The University of Vermont as John Kasson knew it was the product of James Marsh's study and imagination; his influence on his students and on general educational developments in America, though great, is yet to be adequately appraised. Certainly he did much to mold the character of young John Kasson. Marsh, studious by nature and an omnivorous reader, had attended Dartmouth College. While there, he and his cousin, George Perkins Marsh, together with Rufus Choate and Joseph Torrey (later professor at the University of Vermont) had purchased a complete library of Greek and Latin literature independently of the college and had begun the task of reading it. This circle was so studious that the faculty ceased to require their attendance at recitations.³⁷

For his lighter reading at Dartmouth, James Marsh perused the Cambridge Platonists, or the "old English writers" as he called them. Upon graduation in 1817 he attended the Andover Theological Seminary and found himself dissatisfied with the teachings of this center of orthodox Calvinism. For two years he tutored at Dartmouth, read German literature, and became fascinated with the writings of Samuel Taylor Coleridge. Soon he had a thorough mastery of all Coleridge works in America and was searching for a new theology to satisfy "the heart in the head." With a career of scholarship and teaching in mind, he accepted an invitation from a Southern friend, John Holt Rice, to teach at Hampden-Sidney, a Presbyterian college in Virginia.³⁸

While John Kasson learned to walk and talk at Charlotte, inroads were being made upon the old classical curriculum and the patrician function of education. At Thomas Jefferson's youthful University of Virginia a layman faculty, handpicked by Jefferson himself, experimented with the idea that higher education should be directly related to the life of a democracy and made available to all talented young men, rich or poor; that the course of study should be less sectarian and more practical; and that students should govern themselves and elect to take whatever courses they desired.³⁹ At

³⁷Charles Andrew Huntington, *The University of Vermont Fifty Years Ago* (Burlington, 1892), 15-46. Sketch of Marsh by Henry B. Parkes in *Dictionary of American Biography*, 12:299-300.

³⁸Marjorie H. Nicolson, "James Marsh and the Vermont Transcendentalists," *Philosophical Review*, 34:31-4 (January, 1925).

³⁹T. P. Abernethy, *Historical Sketch of the University of Virginia* (Richmond, 1948), 1-9; Roy J. Honeywell, *The Educational Work of Thomas Jefferson* (Cambridge, Mass., 1931), 54ff.

Hampden-Sidney, Professor Holt and President Jonathan Cushing, eyeing the doings of their rival at Charlottesville, were said to be "secularizing" and giving the school its "nineteenth century form." From Massachusetts Rufus Choate wrote James Marsh: "How wretchedly adapted is our American liberal education . . . to form and mature a mind. . . . How vulgar and untaught we generally are with our unquestionable natural capacity."⁴⁰

In this environment of educational flux, Marsh taught classes, pondered the ideas of Coleridge, translated the works of German writers, and with Rice organized the Literary and Philosophical Society aimed at combining the "advantages of personal improvement with those of public influence." Instead of compulsion, students in this Society were assured "free and unrestrained feelings and habits" in their pursuit of excellence. Of Marsh, Rice once said: "Taking him all in all I value his character more than that of any man I have yet known, decidedly."⁴¹

After three years at Hampden-Sidney James Marsh returned to Vermont in 1826 as president of the University. Finding a struggling, ineffectual college lacking in financial support and weakened by theological conflict, Marsh transformed it, ten years before John Kasson matriculated, into the "original center of academic idealistic philosophy,"⁴² "a nursery of American Transcendentalism."⁴³ He had declared man's spiritual freedom from orthodox theology long before the first meeting of the famous transcendental club at Concord in 1836. His educational reforms were based on a combination of the ideas of Jefferson and Coleridge; his philosophy, a combination of Neoplatonism, German Romanticism, and Kant's distinction between Reason and Understanding interpreted in part by Coleridge.

Marsh wanted to break down the ancient barrier between a small learned class and an ill-informed public. The interests of American democratic civilization demanded that knowledge should be shared. Inquiring into the "fundamental purpose" of a university education, he concluded that a

⁴⁰ Choate to Marsh, Nov. 23, 1823, in S. G. Brown, *The Life of Rufus Choate* (Boston, 1891), 34.

⁴¹ A. J. Morrison, *The College of Hampden-Sidney: Calendar of Board Minutes, 1776-1876* (Richmond, 1912), 95n; A. J. Morrison, *Addresses . . . Before Literary and Philosophical Society* (Roanoke, Va., 1917), 4-5.

⁴² Nicolson, "James Marsh and the Vermont Transcendentalists," 29, 34-5.

⁴³ J. I. Lindsay, "Coleridge and the University of Vermont," *Alumni Weekly*, 15:9 (Jan.-Feb., 1936); Alice D. Snyder, "American Comments on Coleridge a Century Ago," in Edmund Blunden and E. L. Griggs (eds.), *Coleridge: Studies by Several Hands* . . . (London, 1934), 214ff.

classical curriculum did not suit the needs of every youth. Education should be much more than mere drill in mathematics or in Greek and Latin idioms. It should take a comprehensive view of all parts of knowledge as constituting a connected and organic whole; each course should be a progression toward the ultimate solution of man's worldly problems and his relation to the infinite; each day a steppingstone not to pecuniary advance but toward the mastery of all truth. Education should be grounded on Christianity, for Marsh would not go to the extreme in secularizing. Christianity was more than a mere philosophy or a religion; it was a way of life, the art of living well and happily.⁴⁴

In his reorganized "course of study and habits of discipline" he sought to give coherence to the various studies in each department so that the several parts would present a unity of development and growth, a growing and enlarging process of the mind until the student attained that position where with safety he could pursue his subsequent career. In support of this lofty aim he replaced tutors with permanent professors, relaxed rules and regulations, and encouraged a genial personal relation between teachers and students. Instead of college distinctions, each student by doing his best could advance in accordance with his own capabilities. The art of writing and speaking for the public was emphasized, and public exhibitions were arranged to make the class appear as a whole in the best manner.⁴⁵

Instruction was conducted by four departments: English literature; classical and modern languages; mathematics and physics; and political, moral, and intellectual philosophy. Marsh himself, in the senior year, taught philosophy, the "oscillating nerve"⁴⁶ connecting the various studies together. Like Bacon, he took all knowledge for his province. Beginning with crystallography, the lowest form of organization, he ascended through the geometry of natural existence, the laws of vegetable and animal life, to psychology and the connection of the senses with the intellect. Continuing this dynamic progression, he elaborated upon the laws of the intellect (logic) and as a capstone offered metaphysics as the highest and last form of speculative reasoning in which the spiritual characteristics of humanity

⁴⁴ Merle Curti, *The Growth of American Thought* (New York, 1943), 215, 217, 226, 243, 354; Nicolson, "James Marsh and the Vermont Transcendentalists," 44, 49-50; Huntington, *U. V. M. . .*, 6-8.

⁴⁵ J. E. Goodrich, *A Sketch of the History of the University of Vermont* (Burlington, 1899), Pt. II, 159-61.

⁴⁶ Lindsay, "Coleridge and the University of Vermont," 8.

were distinguished from all other existence. From here he introduced fundamental problems in moral, religious, social, and political life.

Five years before John Kasson enrolled, Marsh resigned the presidency in order to devote his full time to philosophy. And it was his teachings, combined with a kind, genial manner, that left deep and lasting impressions on his students. "Marsh's philosophy" lingered long after his day; as late as the 1870's it awakened in a young student named John Dewey a "distinctive philosophic interest."⁴⁷

He inculcated his students with a spiritual philosophy which placed the individual squarely on his instincts, exalting man and finding infinite possibilities in human nature. He rejected Calvinistic theology because it ignored freedom of the will and the divine element in man. He rejected the philosophy of materialism which denied that man could attain knowledge only through the senses. Like Coleridge, he taught that Reason was related to a consciousness beyond and above experience; that Reason transcended experience and dealt with spiritual objects; that Reason was intuitive.⁴⁸ Hence, man should turn his mind inward to unfold the deep foundations of truth abiding in his inner consciousness. It was an optimistic philosophy which would permit the perfectibility of man and his democratic institutions. It was concerned with the quality of life and left man's mind unrestrained, except by his own conscience, to work out his destiny. With divine reason in every man he had merely to reach for the stars.

Teaching that the Christian belief was the perfection of human reasoning, Marsh was ever seeking a reconciliation of religion and philosophy; man's philosophy must become religious and his religion philosophical; religion must satisfy man's understanding and not contradict his reason. Words were a transcript of the unseen in man, the picture of the inner life of past generations. Philology was the key to wisdom. Modern, or romantic, poetry was the inevitable result of Christianity, naturally serious and melancholy in tone, reaching out beyond the bounds of the known to the unknown.

Fundamentally interested in ethics, he taught that all social schemes of self-seeking must give "law practically to the conduct of men in their intercourse with each other." And there must be a constant striving for things better. The world could not be redeemed by "a sort of dilettante process,

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 13.

⁴⁸ Nicolson, "James Marsh and the Vermont Transcendentalists," 37-9.

to purge off its grossness, to make a political paradise in which hard work shall become easy, dirty things clean, and the churl a churl no longer." Stiff and diffident in society, but gentle and brilliant in conversation, he emphasized by example hard work, calmness, moderation, and courage.⁴⁹

John Kasson, who forever after included the works of Coleridge and Plato among his favorites, said students "reverenced" Marsh.⁵⁰ The writings and speeches of others are filled with references to his personality, teaching, and influence, which in those days were embodied in the graduates' literary and philosophical *Creed*: We believe in Professor Marsh, Coleridge, and the University of Vermont; in Conscience; in the distinction between Reason and Understanding and between the Natural and the Spiritual. Enthusiastic and optimistic graduates left the University confident of their superior instruction.

In addition to Marsh, John Kasson pursued his studies under three other professors. Succeeding Marsh as president was John Wheeler. Lincoln-esque in appearance, affable, and well-to-do, he conducted morning and evening prayers in a cold, smoke-filled chapel, gave lectures in political economy and natural theology, and on Sundays sometimes preached "awful long" sermons on evidences of revealed religion. Wheeler also had a penchant for making money, and John Kasson thought the "old coon" wore a strong "smile of business."⁵¹

Joseph Torrey (solemn "Old Joe" the students called him) occupied the chair of Latin and Greek. Known as the students' friend, he tried to reduce discipline by making every student "a law unto himself." He was reputed to teach more with fewer words than any other professor. His interests embraced, in addition to languages, such subjects as literature, botany, physiology, government, church history, and the philosophy of the mind and of morals.

Ferrand N. Benedict, professor of mathematics, was a hunchback noted for his rigorous discipline and distaste for superficial methods. "Snappy as to eyes and walk," he pleased the boys with his one-sentence prayer: "May we all Square our conduct with the Rule laid down in Thy word."

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 40-41, 49-50; Huntington, *U.V.M.* . . ., 15-46.

⁵⁰ Kasson, *Memoirs of Boyhood*, *Wead Collection*, Gates (ed.), *Men of Mark* . . ., 2:85-6.

⁵¹ J. W. Dana to his family, Sept. 29, 1839, *Student Letters*, Kasson, St. Louis, to his brother Charles, June 13, 1851, *Wead Collection*, Huntington, *U.V.M.* . . ., 6-12.

He was supposed to be able to take the correct measure of every student, and those who did not pass mathematics found it hard to get a degree. Benedict was known to most as "Little Ben," but John Kasson, who did poorly in mathematics, called him an old, hard-headed "evil genius."⁵²

The power of this small faculty was said to be "like a running stream bearing down upon the students hour by hour." They were not "big uns," as a freshman from the country expected them to be, but unarbitrary and helpful. If plain living signifies high thinking, they lived in a cloud land of thought indeed. Annual expenses for no student exceeded \$100. Since John, staying at home the first three years, did not have to pay board, his expenses including tuition seldom reached \$40. The spare University plant consisted of three main buildings called North, South, and Middle College, all facing the Lake. Except for Middle College, decorated with a cupola and bell, they were barnlike structures of brick, three stories in height. In his senior year John occupied one of the limited number of rooms in North College or the Old Mill. With only one janitor for all the buildings, halls and stairways were often unclean. The rooms as remembered by one student were dreary and unkept, cluttered up with a bed, clothespress, washstand, tables, and chairs, and bursting with the winter's supply of wood which had to be brought inside to keep classmates from stealing it.

The students themselves, ranging in numbers during John's four years from 99 to 110, were neither sons of millionaires nor of polite society, as one alumnus put it. Most of them were middle class farm boys, frequently self-supporting. But according to another, these "young democrats" of the frugal depression years were "an aristocracy of brains."⁵³ At any rate, several of John Kasson's schoolmates made their mark.

A member of his freshman class was William A. Wheeler, a serious, simple-hearted lad from Malone, New York, who it was said lived on bread and water alone for six weeks. Studious and undernourished, this son of a widowed mother was forced to leave college at the end of two years because of failing eyes and financial difficulties. First as a Whig and then as a Republican he rose in New York politics to become eventually John Kas-

⁵² J. W. Dana to his family, Sept. 29, 1839, *Student Letters*, Kasson, New Bedford, Mass., to his brother Charles, Feb. 18, 1849, *Wead Collection*, Vermont Cynic, 26:288ff. (May 5, 1909).

⁵³ Tupper, *A Notable Chapter*, 6-10; U.V.M. *Calendars and Student Records*, 1838-1842.

son's colleague in Congress at Washington and finally Vice President of the United States. Moderate in his views and scrupulously honest, he survived the post-Civil War era of political corruption without a blemish. Another of Kasson's classmates to become his colleague in Congress was Robert Safford Hale whose scholarly tastes and cultural interests led him from law to the field of education. For twenty-two years he was to serve as Regent of the University of the State of New York. And like Kasson, he was to be a delegate at the stirring Republican Convention of 1860 which nominated for the presidency a man who had never been to college.⁵⁴

Two years ahead of John was diminutive, bright-eyed Henry J. Raymond, the tallow-faced son of a well-to-do farmer from Lima, New York. Raymond's habit of overwork developed in college led him to an early grave, it was said. Immediately upon graduation he was employed by Horace Greeley in New York as a journalist, became managing editor of *Harper's New Monthly* magazine, and eventually founded the *New York Times*. Like Kasson and Hale, he was to enter Congress during the Civil War era. And like Kasson he espoused the cause of Lincoln and Johnson, bringing down upon him the vengeance of the Radicals and political defeat. Moderate in opinion and expression, Raymond strove to substitute decency for personal invective in American journalism, reasoning and judgment for prejudice and passion.⁵⁵ Always a scholarly, urbane man he had few journalistic peers in his time. Another schoolmate of Kasson, and a classmate of Raymond, James R. Spaulding, also made his mark in American journalism as a founder of the *New York World*. Like Kasson, Raymond and Spaulding were to return to their alma mater as occasional speakers, singing praises of Professor Marsh's "system."⁵⁶

As a junior John Kasson knew a freshman named Frederick Billings from Woodstock, Vermont, but he probably did not suspect that here was a budding railroad tycoon. After graduation Billings caught the gold fever in '49. In California he found gold in law practice, business, and politics. After the Civil War he bought into the Northern Pacific Railroad, fathered the road's famous colonization project, and eventually became its president. Like

⁵⁴ Sketch of Wheeler by E. C. Smith in *Dictionary of American Biography*, 20: 57-8, and of Hale by A. S. McDaniel, *ibid.*, 8:110-11.

⁵⁵ Sketch of Raymond by Elmer Davis in *ibid.*, 15:408-412; F. L. Mott, *American Journalism* . . . (New York, 1941), 269-70, 278.

⁵⁶ Rann (ed.), *History of Chittenden County* . . . , 205; Lindsay, "Coleridge and the University of Vermont," 9-10.

Kasson, Billings was always interested in libraries, books, and education and at one time was considered for the presidency of the University of California. And like Kasson he became an active promoter of a Nicaraguan canal in the post-Civil War era.⁵⁷

Despite the moderated discipline at the University of Vermont, John found himself tied down to a strenuous daily program regulated by laws on hours of study, religious exercises, and general deportment. The number of religious exercises in a single term ran to 374, and of literary to 240. Student activities were channelized into two literary societies and the Society for Religious Inquiry upon which, it was claimed, Congregationalism put few effectual checks. The literary societies, Phi Sigma Nu and the University Institute, were designed to supplement the study of rhetoric. Membership was determined by lot, and John probably considered himself lucky to be a member of Phi Sigma Nu, the older society with a larger library and more important periodical literature. Each society was represented by a speaker at commencement, and politics for the offices were as lively for the students as were the fall elections for the citizens. A prominent alumnus and historian of the University claimed that no social fraternities ever contributed so much toward making thinkers, writers, and speakers as did these literary societies.⁵⁸

Before the end of the first term students usually classified themselves as conservative Blues or liberal Bloats, and John, whose brother was a rising Democratic politician, was in all probability a Bloat. Moreover there were literary programs and forensics, sailing and skating parties, visits in town, and political oratory. And on commencement day Burlington and the surrounding countryside was alive with excitement and the roads dusty from numerous vehicles rolling in.⁵⁹

John must have remembered vividly the commencement at the end of his freshman year when the famous Whig candidate, Henry Clay, came to town. Clad in a black frock coat, white vest, and very wide drilling pantaloons, Clay sat on the stage and graciously endured the oppressive heat and the dull speeches. When Henry Raymond delivered an animated junior

⁵⁷ Sketch of Billings by J. D. Hicks in *Dictionary of American Biography*, 2:265-6; J. B. Hedges, "The Colonization Work of the Northern Pacific Railroad," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 13:311-42 (December, 1926).

⁵⁸ Kasson's U.V.M. Record, 1840, *Wead Collection*; Goodrich, *Sketch . . . of U.V.M.*, 176ff.; *Vermont Cynic*, 26:288ff. (May 5, 1909).

⁵⁹ *New York Evening World*, Aug. 1, 1860.

oration, Clay was heard to say, "That young man will make his mark." John must also have had some interest in the exciting hard cider campaign of the next year, when the Whigs carried Vermont and the nation for General William Henry Harrison. It is doubtful, however, that he paid much attention to the fact that the Liberty party candidate polled 319 votes in Vermont. For though protests against the proposed annexation of Texas were reaching the state legislature, and Vermont's Representative William Slade was crusading against slavery in Washington, slavery was not a burning political issue in Vermont. But it was on the verge of bursting forth, and within eight years both John and his brother were to bolt the Democratic for the Free Soil party.⁶⁰

In college John seems to have had neither time nor inclination for excessive social and political activities. The attrition in his class from thirty-five freshmen to seventeen seniors indicates that the ordeal of mastering transcendental teachings was no light one. For the first three years in his room at home he sat humped over his books, eschewing company and conversation to his later regret. After moving to the Old Mill on the University campus in his senior year he still "confined his thoughts and feelings to his college room" so much that he felt ill at ease in society, even though his "spirit always flowed freely." Moreover during midwinter vacations of eight weeks he seems to have taught school in the countryside.⁶¹

His grades indicate hard study. In his freshman year only four students made a higher class average. As a sophomore he stood second. In his junior year he led the class in classical languages but dropped to sixth place in mathematics. Upon graduation he ranked first in Greek and second in the general class average in spite of 35 in trigonometry and 45 in calculus.⁶²

During his first three years he aspired to be a poet, wrote several poems, and read one of them as his contribution to the Junior Class Exhibition. Believing, however, that he had no real talent as a poet, he turned to prose composition and read widely in history and English literature.⁶³

His yellowed university essays and speeches,⁶⁴ with their long, stilted,

⁶⁰ Augustus Maverick, *Henry J. Raymond and the New York Press* (Hartford, 1870), 26-7; *Burlington Weekly Free Press and Times*, Jan. 10, 1900.

⁶¹ Kasson, Charlottesville, Va., to his brother Charles, Dec. 27, 1842, *Wead Collection*; U.V.M. *Catalogues, 1838-1842*, Gates (ed.), *Men of Mark . . .*, 2:80.

⁶² U.V.M. *Records of Examinations, 1834-1848*.

⁶³ Kasson, *Memoirs of Boyhood*, *Wead Collection*.

⁶⁴ In *Wead Collection*.

and epigrammatic sentences, with a plethora of words and frequently a dearth of solid content, are a tribute to tireless efforts to achieve effect — to be exquisite — in the arrangement and choice of words. Here is evidence of the genesis of an indefatigable, hard-driving perfectionist. They cover a wide range of subjects but fall roughly into three categories: art and philosophy; education; government and religion. And they are signed John A. Kasson as he always subsequently signed his name.

Such essays as "Poetic Enthusiasm," "A Philosophic Poetry and a Poetic Philosophy," "Relation of the Artist to his Age," and "The Realm of Common Sense" are testimonials of Professor Marsh's philosophy. The poet should not confine himself to the visible and tangible in nature, wrote young Kasson, but should seek the unseen power of life — an inward, moving power which is his real strength. Both poetry and philosophy are attempts of the soul to realize her destined freedom. Enthusiasm arising in extraordinary belief in truth or right begets Imagination, and Imagination unlocks the soul and joins Enthusiasm to make the poet. Common sense manifests itself by experience, but speculative reason falls within the realm of the soul. The prerogative of the artist (or philosopher), he affirmed, is to "stand mediate, looking down upon nature, piercing through the mere clothing of existence, and looking up to truth in its pure and everlasting splendor," awakening beauty in the artist's breast which has dwelt with him since the birth of his spirit.

John regretted that in America, where only the "universal hum of gold-seeking men is heard," arts and letters found small favor. "Shall America never boast a bard worthy to sing of her discovery and deliverance?" he cried in a sophomore chapel piece. Before the literary society, he extolled modern German literature and exhorted his fellows to cast off their "old, shrivelled skins of sluggishness" and make the University a birthplace of literary abilities.

In a debate on whether learning is benefited in proportion as the number of colleges increases, he took the negative. In the absence of a permanent "intellectual high priesthood," he feared lowered standards, for until the great west was settled, few would devote their lives to study "*from a love of study.*" Too many were "vomitted out of academic halls," their minds crammed "like a dung-cart," seeing "no beauty nor any enjoyment in the sublime energy of a determined spirit." He was critical of those who ran through a four-year course and considered their education finished.

His essays on government and religion are robustly patriotic, exalting the ideal of equality, freedom of the mind, the Constitution, and American nationalism. Revolutionary Americans, like the Puritans, found the secret of real power in freedom of the mind, he shouted in a long Fourth of July oration near the end of his senior year — "Mind! — that had been enslaved for a thousand years — Mind! that had been bought and sold for a corrupt priesthood. . . . Spirit of man was free!" Revolutionary fathers declared mankind equal, and if equal, entitled to uniform privileges, he went on. Every state except one had a constitution reserving to the people the right to alter their form of government. "But that one State! Alas for Poor Rhode Island . . . deeply wounded for want of any constitution by which the people are at liberty to attain their form of government." Thus his sympathies ran strong for Democratic Thomas Wilson Dorr who then was waging a revolution against an outmoded colonial charter which restricted suffrage, lacked democratic guarantees, and kept Rhode Island under the minority control of conservative Whigs.

As to Americans whose numbers would increase in a few years from 18 to 100 million (he predicted), let them be Americans, he admonished his hearers:

As we are eminently a peculiar people, we should glory in having a peculiar character. . . . Did not we devise an original plan for the welfare of man?

Men who ape the old world in fashions and peculiarities will ere long want to ape them in their whole system of government. . . . Preserve fashion that is American; teach American doctrines, American sentiments, American philanthropy. . . . Walk like Americans, talk like Americans, think American thoughts; drink water, the American beverage, pure as Hellican's fount; and marry American wives!

In another essay he sought the beautiful land of Idealism and found it, called Stephensis, to be an imaginary Republic in Central America.

As his senior year drew to a close, John must have grieved with the others at the untimely death of Professor Marsh at the age of forty-eight; and as he buried himself in his commencement piece, "The Heathen Philosopher and the Christian Fisherman," he may have had forebodings as to his graduation because of his poor mathematics grades. But when August 2, 1842, brought Commencement Day and a village full of life and gaiety and a church literally jammed with people, John was there on the stage with his

class, but only after the inevitable dressing-down by "little Ben," who, though passing young Kasson on, brought tears to his eyes and destroyed his happiness for that day. According to an eyewitness, however, the graduation of the class appeared well as a whole, some orations exhibiting research and clear thinking. And however deeply stung John may have been, he could comfort himself with the thought that the path to a new phase of his life lay open.⁶⁵

He could now pursue his own maxims set forth in his essays that "He, who possesses no spirit and neglects to enjoy what God bestows for his gratification and improvement, is in a situation of *being*, not *living*"; and that "To attain excellence in a pursuit, there must be vigour, determination, and constant zeal, a love of vocation, and a resolution to contest manfully for the highest success."

Yet John had not made up his mind as to the vocation he wanted to pursue. Surging within him was "an ambitious character irregularly forming under contradictory influences."⁶⁶ His independent, free-flowing spirit conflicted with a cloistered, supervised life at home. Puritan virtues of intellectuality and the ideal of service, common in the Vermont of his youth, were in contrast to assertive individualism, shrewdness, and greed. The lofty, moderate tone of his university teachings was not in accord with religious zealotry and the boiling temperance and simmering antislavery crusades; and slavery itself was a practical denial of the cherished ideal of equality. "Vermonters were nothing if not contrary," says a careful historian of this era. And "all Vermont was restless."⁶⁷

The flood of emigrants to the west continued unabated. In southern Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and the future state of Iowa, upstanding Vermonters were coming in contact with the easygoing Southerners, looking somewhat condescendingly at their poor schools and illiteracy, and being themselves suspiciously regarded as too righteous and thrifty. Educated young men were trickling into Boston and New York for professional and business careers. And surprisingly, some continued to drift into the South where a few — a very few — settled down and "loved good liquor and went in for fun."⁶⁸ Most of those going south, however, were young men just out of

⁶⁵ Kasson, New Bedford, to his brother Charles, Feb. 18, 1849, *Wead Collection*, Manuscript Diary of A. D. Barber, Aug. 2, 1842 (U.V.M., Wilbur Library).

⁶⁶ Kasson, *Memoirs of Boyhood*, *Wead Collection*.

⁶⁷ Stillwell, *Migrations from Vermont*, 65-6, 132, 231.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 144, 146, 165, 166, 191, 195.

college, many with consumptive tendencies, who combined temporary employment with recovery in a milder climate. Southerners were willing to employ the graduates of northern schools in almost any educational capacity.

For a year after his graduation Kasson, at an impressionable age, lived with Virginia slaveholders as a tutor, finding among them friendliness and fine manners — traits he admired and acquired. For a year he read law among free soilers in Worcester, Massachusetts, and observed the performances of the cultural elite in Boston. For almost six years he practiced law and played politics in New Bedford, Massachusetts, during a boom cycle, saw the romantic whaling era giving way to the gold rush and manufacturing as the industrial revolution gained momentum, pled the cases of wealthy men and sailors, and participated in a society both rough and raw but also charming and cosmopolitan. And all the while as a New Englander he was living in the midst of a feverish, sometimes extravagant, wave of reform which grew in intensity with the years.

For seven years he practiced law and politics in the western metropolis of St. Louis, Missouri, and among his intimate associates were slaveholding border-state men who went west and who, finding their interests identified with a strong national government, were turning against the South. Here he was a witness to the fierce clashes resulting from the impact of Yankee and foreign immigrant with Southerners. Here he became familiar with the optimism, the drive, the braggadocio of the westerner who chafed at restraints on the exploitation of the nation's wealth.

As a delegate to a Northern free soil convention (Buffalo, 1848) and a Southwestern commercial convention (Memphis, 1853) he saw first hand the interplay of complex sectional forces.

Motivated in part by principle and in part by political opportunity, he had been, when he moved to Des Moines in 1857, a consistent free soiler for ten years but also a one-time slave owner. Moderate in his views toward slavery, he had, however, been attracted to those who did not want it extended. But over the years he had come to realize that a third party taking a radical antislavery position had little chance of success.

Thus when Kasson, at the age of thirty-five, aggressively threw himself into the pulsing life of the ambitious town of Des Moines, then becoming the new state capital, his education had reached its maturity.

LIFE ON A JONES COUNTY FARM, 1873–1912

*By Merrill E. Jarchow**

“Jan 1st Thursday — While we were eating breakfast Mr Og. Horton came in to see if father had any fat hogs to sell. Murray came in the evening. A cloudy day.” So wrote Miss Sarah Jane Kimball in her diary in 1874. Miss Kimball, one of the most faithful chroniclers of agrarian life in Iowa, came to Jones County with her parents in the summer of 1856, settling on a farm in Madison Township, three miles southwest of Wyoming, where she lived continuously until her death at the age of eighty-five, on January 10, 1924. It is believed she kept a diary during most of her adult life, but only that part of the diary covering the years 1873 to 1912 has turned up. Nevertheless, this segment of her record gives a wonderful picture of life on a Jones County farm during the last quarter of the nineteenth and the first decade of the twentieth centuries. As such, it portrays an era when old ways of doing things and old habits of living were being modified and displaced by new techniques and new habits. The impact of both the traditional and the novel finds expression on the pages of Miss Kimball’s diary.

The oldest of six children, Sarah Jane was born in Massachusetts in 1838. When she was five years old, her parents, Abner and Sarah Kimball, joined the westward trek and moved to Troy Lakes, Wisconsin, where they spent the next eleven years. Then, in the words of Sarah Jane,

. . . father sold his farm and bought again in Green County. We started the 19th day of October and arived [sic] here the 24th after being out five days on the road. We drove nearly 30 cattle sixty sheep and 12 hogs besides two teams that drawed our furniture. We are 75 miles from Troy Lakes but we came in such a circuitous [sic] route to get here that it was nearer a hundred miles the way we came. . . . None of our folks like to live here. . . . It is a very hilly country. . . . When I think how beautiful it was round Troy and then how mean it looks around here, I then wish I had wings to fly away.¹

*The letters and diaries of Sarah Jane Kimball are in the possession of the author at Northfield, Minnesota.

¹ Sarah Jane Kimball to Mary, Washington, Wisconsin, Jan. 6, 1856.

After two years in Green County, the Kimballs pulled up stakes again and headed westward once more, this time to Jones County, Iowa. "We bade adieu to the hills and hollows of Green Co., without a tear or sigh," Sarah Jane wrote a friend.

We had two wagons to draw our things and we drove all the cattle. All day we drove the teams or cattle and at night after cooking our supper in a hole in the ground and eating it we would coop up under the wagon and go to sleep. In the morning we would milk the cows, cook and eat our breakfast, get everything to rights again and again start on our journey. At noon we would stop an hour or so, to let the cattle eat and take a cold bite ourselves and then go on. . . . We started Thursday. . . . Monday we left Wisconsin and at about 4 o'clock in the afternoon we crossed the Mississippi river on the steam ferry from Dunleith to Dubuque. . . . We got to Anamosa Friday the 13th day of June after being on the road 9 days.

After some time spent in looking for a place to locate, Sarah Jane's father purchased the farm near Wyoming that was to be home for so many years. The farm, consisting of 180 acres lying on both sides of a road, was secured for \$1,800. The area south of the road, 100 acres in all, was covered with scattered timber, while the 80 acres north of the road on which were situated the house and some 20 acres of improvements were a treeless prairie. To Sarah Jane the location was ideal.

And I can say it and tell the truth too that it is the prettiest place in Iowa. Here we can see the grandest scenery that I ever expect to behold. . . . We can see six miles east a vast plain on which is situated Wyoming. . . . Wyoming now contains 4 stores 2 blacksmiths shops and a postoffice and is building up as fast as they can get lumber to build with. people are also building new houses around us and 3 new ones have been built since we came here. We expect to have a new house when we get rich and we think that day is not far distant. . . . The folks around here seem to be very good and I like them what I have seen of them. Our nearest neighbor is about 40 rods and I can stand in our back door and count 20 houses besides the two villages.²

Details of the Kimball saga during the winters of 1856-1857 and 1857-1858 are lost. Apparently the Panic of 1857 left less of an imprint on them

² Sarah Jane Kimball to Laura, Wyoming, Iowa, Oct. 5, 1856.



Merrill, Sarah Jane, and Father Kimball, October, 1899



Sarah Jane's Greenhouse, September, 1899



Kimball Parlor, September, 1899



Another View of Kimball Parlor, October, 1899

than it did on pioneer families in other areas, for in March, 1858, Sarah Jane wrote:

We have felt hard times comparatively [sic] little though it is hard to collect debts yet. What the farmer has to sell fetches little or nothing but what he has to buy at the store he has to pay a price for. Father and mother went to Anamosa last week and took some wheat along and got 40 cents a bushel. Corn is 25 cents a bushel and last spring it was a dollar a bushel. Everything is low now that farmers have. We have plenty of Wheat and Corn. Father sold 100 bushels of corn last fall. Father sold 3 head of cattle last fall for beef and we now have 22 cattle and a span of horses and a yearling colt. We dont keep sheep. There are too many wolves here for them to be kept with safety. We have lost no hens by the weasles [sic] this winter.

Sarah Jane's enthusiasm for Iowa was still strong, and again Wisconsin suffered by comparison with her new home. "There is no rats here and we are glad of it. In Green County they were so thick that they were a great bother," she continued in her letter. "I tell you this is the place after all to live. At Wyoming they have Lyceum lectures every week and last night I was there and heard a first rate lecture. There was considerable said in praise of Iowa and I begun to think that this is the best state after all. . . . I have always thought we lived in one of the most beautiful of places and now I dont doubt it."³

For the next fifteen years we get only glimpses of the Kimballs. Wrinkled and yellowed teachers' certificates indicate that Sarah Jane taught school during the 1860's and that she possessed "a good moral character" and was competent to teach orthography, reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, English grammar, and United States history. As a girl of eighteen she expressed her philosophy of teaching: "If I ever keep school I am going to do as Lucy did. Somehow, she always had a way to make the scholars like her and then they would always mind her. I think that is a better way than to scold all the time." With such a philosophy it is small wonder that Sarah Jane was well-beloved by her pupils.⁴

The Civil War undoubtedly occupied the thoughts of the Kimball family, and one of the brothers, Murray, served in the Union army; nevertheless, the effect of the War was not serious on the Jones County homestead. In

³ Sarah Jane Kimball to Laura, Wyoming, March 7, 1858.

⁴ Sarah Jane Kimball to Mary, Washington, Jan. 6, 1856.

1873, when Sarah Jane's diary commences, the family, composed of the parents, two boys, and two girls, was living on the home place, and the pioneer phase of its history was long past. A third son and a third daughter were married and living near by. A new barn had just been completed, and it can be assumed that the farmstead had lost any frontier appearance it once possessed.

Much information about the house itself can be gleaned by a careful reading of the pages of Sarah Jane's diary, neatly covered with her delicate, precise handwriting. It was a two-story structure with a cellar and two porches or piazzas, the name commonly given to porches in those days, and it appears to have been relatively comfortable. On Saturday, May 26, 1877, Sarah Jane tells of helping her mother nail on lathes upstairs; several days later she noted the arrival of the plasterers. From time to time she mentions the hanging of wallpaper, usually done in the early years by her mother. For example, in 1883, she wrote: "Mother papered the kitchen. It was a hard days work for her." The woodwork was painted and grained and the entry was kalsomined. Decorating the walls were pictures typical of the time, mainly chromos and crayon portraits, the latter being done by itinerant artists. The frames were handmade, often decorated with shells and buttons. Adding to the Victorian touch were hand-gilded molding, antimacassars, lambrequins, and yarn tassels made by Sarah Jane for the parlor, that formal and forbidding room which was used only for very special occasions. Carpeting and rugs covered the floor. Carpet rags were washed, colored, and wound into balls at home and then taken to some lady in Wyoming for weaving. When finished they were nailed to the floor, much in the modern manner, but during housecleaning time they had to be taken up, beaten, and nailed down again. In 1899, Sarah Jane mentions pasting down oilcloth carpet in the kitchen.⁵

The cellar of the house could be reached by a trap door in the kitchen or via an outside cellar door and steps. It was a cool, dark, earthen floor excavation generally used for storing food and flower bulbs. In the winter there was always the danger of freezing the fruits and vegetables. On one occasion Sarah Jane noted: "Monday Tuesday and Wednesday were very cold

⁵ Sarah Jane Kimball Diary, May 26, 31, 1877; March 30, May 4, 17, June 22, 1878; March 8, 14, 23, 1879; Apr. 2, May 14, 28, 1882; Sept. 16, 1883; May 18, 1884; Feb. 22, 1885; Apr. 6, May 4, 11, 1890; May 31, 1891; Aug. 6, Sept. 17, Oct. 8, 1899; Sept. 15, 1900; Oct. 30, 1910.

and we watched the cellar and carried down live coals to keep the frost out." A decade later, in 1889, an oil stove was kept burning in the cellar on very cold days. Newspapers and rags covered by boards were placed on the outside door to keep drafts out.⁶

Not only the cellar, of course, but the rest of the house as well presented a heating problem; the diary makes this fact very clear. In the early years there was no central heating system and stoves and stovepipes had to be set up in each room of the house, a difficult and messy task. Wood and later coal and oil were the fuels used. The wood was usually sawed up by the Burch boys or John Sexton and their "sawing machines." On one occasion, "The wood sawyers came with their machine at between two and three o'clock and sawed nine cords of wood. We got them their supper and they stayed all night. This morning they went away after breakfast." Coal was hauled from Wyoming and stored in the cellar. "We moved the kitchen stove out in the room and set up the parlor stove," Sarah Jane wrote in October, 1877. Then in November: "Our folks took down the kitchen stove pipes to get out the soot and burned out the chimney." In 1880 a new coal stove was purchased, which "keeps us warm and we like it as well as we expected." Two years later Sarah Jane noted: "Father went to Wyoming today and brought home my oil stove. I lighted it this evening in my room. It burns nicely." But even with wood, coal, and oil stoves in the house the family was frequently uncomfortable. In 1884 Sarah Jane complained that it was "hard to do the work in the house and out. Our folks slept by the coal fire. I slept on the lounge. Saturday morning 32° below zero. A clear day but windows thick with frost. Hard to do the work and accomplish anything." And in 1886 she recorded the fact that "Father brought home three stones for foot warmers." On January 1, 1888, it was so cold: "No one said Happy New Year to another. So much do our surroundings influence our actions." And it was as late as April 4 one year when it was "warm enough for me to sit upstairs."⁷

During the late 1890's heating conditions in the home were definitely improved. In June, 1897, registers were put in two of the upstairs bedrooms, and in October, "father and Merrill went to town and took our old

⁶ Diary, Dec. 29, 1878; Feb. 24, 1889; Dec. 31, 1899; Dec. 4, 1910.

⁷ Diary, Oct. 20, Nov. 2, 29, 1877; Dec. 12, 1880; Sept. 16, Oct. 6, 1881; Oct. 26, 1882; Jan. 6, 1884; Jan. 31, 1885; Apr. 4, Dec. 5, 1886; Jan. 1, Mar. 18, 1888; Feb. 2, 1890.

wood heater stove. Our new stove the 'Garland' has come and is at Tourtelott's." A month later they "had Charley help put up the new Garland heater stove. It is a beauty and easy to manage. We are all pleased with it. Father tends it and sits by it more than Merrill or I." In December a Mr. Wilken "put a pipe of tin from the hot air flue on the stove to lead to my room. He did a good job and my room is getting the benefit of it." In 1900 Sarah Jane mentions seeing a new furnace in town and in 1904 she "went to Rohwedder's. They were having a new furnace put in the cellar." The Kimballs for some unexplained reason, perhaps Yankee thrift, never installed a furnace but continued to rely on stoves. Thus, as late as 1912 Sarah Jane wrote: "This has been the longest continued cold spell that I remember. Every night the mercury below zero and Friday morning the coldest 25° below. . . . We have suffered some with the cold and the two cats we put in the cellar. We had to keep a fire to keep the cellar from freezing. Can hardly do much except the chores and keep three or four fires going."⁸

Chimney fires were constant threats. Sarah Jane tells of one in 1887 and another in 1889. Of the latter she writes: "Evening our chimney caught fire and we had quite a time putting it out. Saturday morning the stoves would not draw so after breakfast we took down the pipes and when the frost was off the roof Merrill climbed up with a chain and cleaned out the chimney. It was nearly filled with soot. After that we had to get dinner and then clean up all the dirt, and that with all our Saturday's work took us until milking time." In 1886 and again in 1897 the Kimballs had new chimneys built.⁹

Under the kitchen was a cistern, a dark and cavernous hole frightening to children, reached by a trap door. Concern over the state of the cistern, the source of water supply for washing, runs through Sarah Jane's entries in her diary. In 1877 she noted that the cistern was filled. At another time she wrote: "Mr. Phelps and his man Atkins came and cleaned out the cistern then plastered it anew." Shortly thereafter the same men dug a new cistern at the barn. In 1893 we read: "Our cistern has been dry a long time and we have had to melt snow for water. Now the cistern is more than half filled. We appreciate it." By 1900 the cistern again needed repairs

⁸ Diary, June 20, Oct. 10, Nov. 14, Dec. 12, 1897; Sept. 23, 1900; Nov. 20, 1904; Jan. 14, 1912.

⁹ Diary, Nov. 7, 1886; Apr. 14, 1887; Nov. 17, 1889; May 30, 1897.

because, although it filled to overflowing, it leaked, and half of the water went into the cellar. Ten years later the cistern, despite repairs in the meantime, gave trouble again: "The pipe that runs in the cistern leaks so that most of the water went into the cellar. . . . We put up an eaves trough and ran it from the roof through the window into the cistern. So now we have about seven feet of water in it."¹⁰

Water for drinking had to be carried to the house from a well, in the early days fitted out with a hand pump. In 1874 a new well was drilled with a machine, but as the folks did not think the well would provide sufficient water, "Ellis and boy are digging another beside it and let all the water into one." In 1890 came a landmark: a windmill was erected. Then water could be pumped for the house, for the livestock, and for the flower beds without backbreaking manual labor, that is, if the wind would co-operate. Once when it did not, Sarah Jane complained: "Windmill has not pumped enough for a week for me to get any in my tank." On another occasion she wrote: "The windmills fail to pump and some neighbors are hauling water from the creek for their stock." At times like these hand pumping once more provided water for drinking and cooking. In 1896 and again in 1910 the Kimballs purchased new mills.¹¹

Lighting in the Kimball home remained primitive long after 1912. The first mention of the subject in the diary comes in 1882 when Sarah Jane tells of purchasing mutton tallow for candles at McMillan's. In 1883 she notes: "We hung up the hanging lamp in the parlor." Later that year, upon finding herself out of matches, she went to a neighbor's to borrow some. In the wintertime, breakfast was accompanied by lamplight, as was supper. Not until 1908 did a major improvement in lighting find space in the diary. In February that year we read: "Afternoon went to Wyoming and bought a new lamp at Wilken's. . . . Merrill worked at the new lamp to get it started to burning. It is the Fellboelin and burns with a mantle and gives a strong white light." Out of doors, lanterns were used for all activities necessitating artificial illumination, even as aids when driving a horse and buggy on dark nights.

¹⁰ Diary, Aug. 21, 1877; Sept. 1, Oct. 27, Nov. 24, 1889; June 8, 1890; March 12, 1893; Apr. 22, 1900; Mar. 24, 1901; Mar. 27, Apr. 3, 1910; Jan. 8, Feb. 19, Mar. 26, 1911.

¹¹ Diary, June 18, 26, 1874; Aug. 17, 28, 1881; Nov. 2, Dec. 13, 1890; Apr. 12, May 3, 1891; Aug. 12, 1894; June 28, 1896; June 4, 1899; Aug. 25, 1901; Sept. 9, 1906; Aug. 28, 1910.

The housewife of today, with her many mechanical gadgets, would be appalled at the thought of keeping house in the Kimball establishment; indeed, it was no easy task. Just reading about the daily routine is enough to tire most of us. Two entries, taken at random, will illustrate the point. The first is dated September 15, 1885, when Sarah Jane's mother was seventy years old; the second is dated August 29, 1909, when Sarah Jane was seventy. "Saturday lots of work to do for mother and I. We churned, made bread, dressed a chicken, made sweet pickles, made up a pail of apples into apple sauce, cleaned my bird cage then the rooms and did the work upstairs and it was nearly milking time. Tired at night." "After I had done my out of doors work — feeding the cats and tending the chickens and emptying the ashes I commenced on the work in the house. Filled the lamps washed the dishes. Close came for the cream tended the birds got some apples ready to bake chopped up some cabbage made a cake and got the dinner. After dinner washed the dishes rested awhile swept out the sitting room looked over the papers went out and cut the sage buried a hen I found dead in the granary changed the pork cracklins from the box to some pails rested a little then went to do the chores for the evening." These were by no means unusual days, in fact, they were less strenuous than many, and the mere recital of jobs done does not indicate the difficulties involved in doing them.

Churning at best was a backbreaking business; sometimes it took as long as two and a half hours before butter would form, and when it did form, the amount was not large — "about three pounds" on one occasion. Thus, churning had to be done frequently when cream was available. Once in a while, though apparently not often, the Kimballs had butter to sell. In November, 1874, "Father Mother and I started to go to Clarence to take the butter, 3 firkins and 3 tubs. Not a quick sale for butter. got 24 cts a pound." Three decades later Merrill took some butter to Wyoming and received twenty cents a pound for it. From time to time Sarah Jane tells of buying butter from neighbors. Keeping it sweet in warm weather was left to the cellar, which was not always up to the task.¹³

¹² Diary, Oct. 31, 1882; Feb. 12, Oct. 21, 1883; Aug. 17, 1884; Dec. 8, 1889; Jan. 18, 1891; Feb. 12, 1899; July 1, 1900; Feb. 2, 1908.

¹³ Diary, Sept. 21, 1877; May 10, 1878; Dec. 16, 1883; June 21, 1885; Aug. 29, 1886; Mar. 30, May 4, Oct. 12, 1890; Sept. 18, 1892; Mar. 13, 1898; Jan. 26, 1902; Feb. 15, 1903; Apr. 16, 1905; Aug. 15, 1909; Nov. 19, 1911.

Another household chore, involving much manual labor and many steps, was doing the family wash. Sarah Jane leaves out many of the details of laundering in her accounts of this job, but she writes enough to emphasize what the ladies endured to keep the family in clean clothes. "Last Monday we had a big two weeks washing," she wrote in 1891. "I got up before four oclock and finished a little before noon." And again: ". . . hung out the clothes but they did not dry so we brought them in and hung them on a line in the kitchen but they looked little like clean clothes." Almost twenty years later conditions were little improved; at that time, "a three weeks washing . . . took me three forenoons to finish. A hard time to get them dry and was obliged to finish them around the stoves. Ironed Thursday and Friday." This last statement by its brevity gives a false impression. Even today with adjustable electric irons and mangles, ironing is work; fifty or sixty years ago, when flatirons heated over a fire were used, it was considerably more strenuous. The age of wash boards, several rinses in different tubs, heating water on the kitchen stove, hand wringers, clothes lines, and homemade soap was in full bloom.

The Kimballs made soap, a thick, brown, syrupy liquid, at least as late as 1906, and references to the process are interspersed throughout the diary. "Mother is making soap this week and tonight has a barrell full," was a comment in 1881. Some years later Sarah Jane herself made the soap, noting on one occasion: "Wednesday I worked at the soap, leaching the ashes and boiling the lye." Even birthdays did not interfere with soap making. On her sixtieth birthday, Sarah Jane "worked at getting the lye from a barrel of ashes and stirring it into a barrel for soap."¹⁴

Preparing meals three times a day for a hungry farm family, plus a hired man and frequent company, demanded much effort and a great deal of know-how. Most of the raw materials were at hand, but the processing of them had to be done at home; particularly was this true in the early period covered by the diary. Butchering was done on the farm and the meat was stored in the cellar. In December, 1877, "Mother and I went to work at the lean meat and fat that was in the cellar to be worked up. We cut up 50 lbs. of meat for sausage and rendered all the fat and made 7 lbs. of head

¹⁴ Diary, Mar. 18, 1878; Feb. 11, 1879; June 17, Oct. 3, 1881; Dec. 23, 1883; Apr. 5, 1887; Dec. 22, 1889; Dec. 13, 28, 1890; Nov. 8, 1891; Nov. 6, 1892; Oct. 20, Dec. 18, 1898; Feb. 12, June 11, 1899; Apr. 10, 1904; Apr. 8, 1906; May 16, 1909; Jan. 2, 1910; Feb. 19, 1911.

cheese." Washing the greasy dishes after this operation took an hour and a half. During the 1880's the Kimballs began to take their cattle and hogs to Wyoming to be butchered. For example, we read in 1888: "Merrill took a big fat hog to Wyoming to get it butchered. . . . Wednesday Merrill went to town to get the pork. Thursday . . . We rendered some of the lard. Friday we worked at the lard all day and Saturday finished it. The butcher made up a lot of sausage which we did not want and used up our lean meat that we did want. They took it back. We cleared up all the grease and cleaned the room." Butchering had to be done in cold weather, of course, since refrigeration was not available. No wonder Sarah Jane complained to her diary on occasion: "We were getting hungry for meat." As early as 1885 a butcher from town visited the neighborhood periodically in warm weather selling meat, but the Kimballs relied on chickens at that time of year. In 1900 Sarah Jane tells of buying meat at Shaeffer's market in Wyoming, but home processing of meat continued in the Kimball home to the end of the period here covered. One of Sarah Jane's final entries on the subject reads: "Monday father and I worked at taking care of the pork. I cut it up and he salted it in the cellar putting it in crocks. I then rendered the lard from the loose fat. Tuesday put in crocks and had a little over two gallons."¹⁵

Home canning of vegetables other than tomatoes was not done at all in the 1870's and 1880's. Both vegetables and fruits were dried to preserve them; hence, winter diets were lacking in green stuffs and in fresh fruit. To some extent it was a case of summer feast when the garden and orchard were producing and of winter famine when they were not. Under such conditions, the arrival in the spring of the first crops of rhubarb, horseradish greens, strawberries, asparagus, lettuce, cabbage, tomatoes, potatoes, radishes, peas, and beans was a time for rejoicing. Other items on the summer menu were corn, carrots, cucumbers, salsify, raspberries, currants, gooseberries, watermelons, muskmelons, apples, and cherries. Jellies and jams were made from raspberries and currants, sweet pickles and preserves were made from the melons, and various types of pickles were made from the cucumbers. In the fall, efforts were made to preserve as much of the foodstuff as possible. Pumpkins, squash, potatoes, turnips, beets, carrots,

¹⁵ Diary, Dec. 13, 1877; Aug. 10, 1885; Dec. 5, 1886; Jan. 2, Dec. 25, 1887; Dec. 2, 1888; Nov. 6, 1892; Dec. 12, 1899; Mar. 25, Oct. 7, 1900; Feb. 21, 28, 1904; Dec. 15, 1907.

rutabagas, salsify, and even melons were stored in the cellar. Apples with defects were made into cider, while good ones were stored, in their natural state, or dried; thus, apple pie was a winter delicacy. In 1891, if not earlier, a new method of preserving vegetables became a reality with the opening of the Potter canning factory in Wyoming. Thereafter the Kimballs took sweet corn and tomatoes to the factory to be canned for winter use. A few years before then Sarah Jane and her mother were canning some fruit at home.¹⁶

Milk played an important role in the diet of the Kimball family. All of the members of the household possessed excellent teeth, a blessing they credited to their liberal use of milk. In getting the milk to the table the womenfolk played an active role. Sarah Jane and her mother helped with the chores regularly. In November, 1877, she wrote: "After four oclock we went out to milk the 9 cows under the barn in the new stable. They stand pretty thick." The next spring she indicated that she milked four of the seven cows. She continued to help with the milking throughout the period covered in the diary. In spite of heat, cold, and unruly cows she seldom did more than comment on the chore, never really complaining. "While we were milking," she related one time, "there came a heavy rain-storm. I had milked one cow and part of another when it commenced. I ran for the barn with two pails of milk and father and Merrill went to the shed with the cows where they finished milking." In the summertime the milk was kept in cans or pans in the cellar; in the winter it was kept in the house. Before the advent of the separator, the milk was allowed to stand until the cream rose to the top and could be skimmed off. The cream was then used for churning, as has been related, and the skim milk was fed to the calves, chickens, and hogs. In March, 1908, Sarah Jane and Merrill went to Shamels "to look at a separator." A few days later a man brought out the separator and set it up. "It works fine," concluded Sarah Jane. Early the next week she reported: "I did my first churning from the separator cream." In the spring when there was a surplus of milk on the farm, milk was sold to a milkman who made regular rounds of the neighborhood. Each year Sarah Jane noted the date on which the family began to sell milk. Once in a while cheese was made, but apparently the Kimballs were not

¹⁶ Diary, July 6, 13, Nov. 30, 1884; Aug. 29, 1886; July 15, 1888; Oct. 13, 1889; Apr. 26, July 12, Sept. 13, 1891; Aug. 13, 1893; June 10, 1894; Oct. 30, 1898; July 16, 1899; Sept. 15, Nov. 18, 1900; July 6, 1902; Oct. 30, 1904.

experts in this field. "Thursday mother made a cheese. It took her nearly all day because she had forgotten some things in the process," said Sarah Jane in 1888.¹⁷

Unfortunately Sarah Jane does not provide anywhere in the diary a daily menu; as a result we get only tantalizing glimpses of the Kimball bill of fare. Once in 1873 she wrote: "I ate dinner at Fuller's — mush and milk." A few years later she noted laconically: "I fried pancakes for supper." In 1880 she goes into more detail: "I built the fire and got a pail of water, Merrill got the green corn and cucumbers, Mother got the potatoes and I made the biscuits and got the pork to fry. Afterward I set the table." At another time baked duck and rabbit "and other things" were on the menu. Each spring the family looked forward to the first mess of greens; one of Sarah Jane's comments on this savory spring delight was as follows: "I cut some horseradish for greens for dinner and Aunt Lucy picked them over. We all enjoyed them for they were the first we had had." In the winter she did considerable baking, but she failed to report much of the detail to her diary. A typical comment reads: "I baked some mince pies and fried some cakes. Also picked and cooked a chicken and made some dumplings." From scattered notes such as these it is at least possible to assume that, although great effort went into the preparation of meals, the end result was pleasing to those who sat down at the dinner table.¹⁸

Each fall, when threshers were at the farm, an unusual burden was placed on the womenfolk to do a better job of feeding the men than the neighbor ladies did. Threshers' appetites were, of course, legendary. Sarah Jane was usually philosophical about preparing food for threshers, but once or twice she complained a bit about the task. In 1881, the thermometer was "as high as 97° in the shade. . . . Mother and I working at getting ready for the thrashers which will be here tomorrow. I baked bread and did the ironing forenoon. Suffered much from the heat. Mother made some apple pies. She can hardly stand the heat." When the threshing was over, Sarah Jane said simply: "We were glad to have it done." In 1895 came a close call: "Friday we had the thrashing done and the men here for dinner. 18 in all and the last table nearly ran short." Despite their culinary rivalries, the

¹⁷ Diary, Nov. 29, 1877; Apr. 19, 1878; Oct. 20, 1881; Feb. 7, 1882; July 15, 1883; May 4, 1884; July 5, 1885; Aug. 26, 1888; Mar. 29, Apr. 5, 1908; Mar. 14, 1909.

¹⁸ Diary, Sept. 5, 1873; May 4, 1878; Aug. 1, 1880; Nov. 27, 1892; May 15, 1897; Dec. 11, 1898.

ladies of the neighborhood co-operated in feeding the threshers just as the men themselves helped each other with the actual harvesting labor. Once in a while other men who were doing special work on the farm had to be fed several meals. For example, in 1886, three men came to lay some tile in the slough on the south eighty. "They were here three days," was Sarah Jane's comment. "They are enormous eaters especially on bread and butter and it took much of our time to wait on them."¹⁹

Keeping the house clean was a weekly, yes, even a daily chore, but once each year, usually in early May, especial attention was given to it, and spring housecleaning overshadowed all other household activities. Stoves and stovepipes were removed; carpets were taken up, cleaned, and put down again; nearly always some wall papering was done; curtains and lambrequins were washed, starched, and ironed; the kitchen and dining room ceilings were whitewashed; windows were washed; screens were repaired and placed over the windows; and all the rooms of the house plus the cellar were thoroughly cleaned. The effect of all this activity on the womenfolk is easy to imagine. Sarah Jane put it this way: "All the week Mother and I have worked hard. I have been so tired every night I could scarcely rest or sleep." Or again: "For the last two weeks mother and I have worked with all the strength we had. We have now finished the house cleaning except the dining room and kitchen."²⁰

In the intervals between preparing food and doing the other tasks already mentioned, the women somehow found time for still more work. Making mattresses and filling bedticks with corn husks or straw were additional jobs falling to the women, and Sarah Jane comments on the process as late as 1901. Her first entry comes in 1874: "After that we went out and husked corn to get some husks for the beds. We got on top of the open crib of corn and sat and husked. It seemed good to sit down. I was so tired. We husked until time to get supper." Several years later, "mother and I worked at fixing over the husk beds. We emptied out the old husks and sorted them over then husked corn and got new ones and helped fill up the beds. Merrill picked the corn and threw it on the ground for us in the orchard near the hogpen. . . . Friday . . . fixed bed ticks afternoon and sorted husks."

¹⁹ Diary, July 21, Aug. 26, 1878; Sept. 6, 7, 1881; Aug. 16, 1885; Aug. 29, 1886; Aug. 19, 1888; Aug. 4, 1895; Aug. 27, 1899; Sept. 2, 1906.

²⁰ Diary, May 6, 1877; June 1, 1878; May 2, 1879; May 8, 22, 1881; May 31, 1885; May 8, 1887; May 14, 1899.

The lounges in the house also had cornhusk ticks for cushioning. Mattresses were filled with cotton batting and tacked by hand; then they were placed on the beds over the ticks. In 1887, Sarah Jane noted: "Wednesday mother and I worked at cleaning the husks and fixing the beds. Afternoon I ironed and she put a mattress on the frames and we commenced to tie it."²¹

A final household chore of significance was the making and mending of clothes. Accounts of this activity run throughout the diary. One day in 1877, "Mrs. Newell came to get me to show her how to cut and put together a corset. We were hurried but I showed her. . . ." In October, 1882, "Mother worked at making two undershirts for father and Merrill. I did some baking. . . . Afterward sewed some to help finish the shirts." Several years later, "mother cut out two pairs of drawers for father and I made them afternoon." Another comment reads: ". . . worked at mother's dress waist. . . . I ironed out our skirts and they looked well. Then patched an overcoat that the mice had gnawed the sleeve." After the death of her mother in 1896, Sarah Jane continued to make clothes. Thus, in 1897, she noted: "Friday I cut out some undershirts and drawers from cotton flannel." In 1900 she finished "A winter shirt for Merrill." Toward the end of her diary she mentioned cutting out "some night gowns and drawers" and "some under garments for Esther," a girl whom she raised.

From time to time the efforts of the Kimball women were supplemented by those of a seamstress. For example, "Tuesday Merrill went to Wyoming and brought home Miss Anna Simmons to sew for us and make some dresses. . . . Saturday evening she went home. She made a dress for mother and half made a wrapper and partly made a dress for me." On another occasion the seamstress was a certain Dora Smith, who was "here all the week until Saturday. She has been sewing 9½ days in all. Made Jessie 3 dresses 3 aprons myself a dress and did some other sewing. Has helped me much." Dora continued to sew at the Kimballs for several years. In January, 1903, she "made three waists for calico dresses," and in March, 1907, "She made one calico dress waist and one dress, then a gray woolen skirt and a waist and a thin gingham waist."²²

Another of Sarah Jane's regular chores was taking care of the chickens,

²¹ Diary, Oct. 20, 1874; Oct. 26, 1879; June 17, 1883; Oct. 2, 1887; June 3, 1888; June 21, 1891; Nov. 6, 1892; Oct. 24, 1897; Nov. 5, 1899; Nov. 10, 1901.

²² Diary, Sept. 26, 1877; Oct. 21, 1882; July 24, 1887; July 30, Oct. 15, 1893; Oct. 31, 1897; Jan. 8, 15, 1899; Dec. 2, 1900; Jan. 4, 1903; May 21, 28, 1905; Mar. 31, 1907; Jan. 9, 16, 1910.

and scarcely a week passed that she did not mention in some manner in her diary chickens, eggs, and the henhouse. Apparently Sarah Jane made no great effort to raise thoroughbred chickens; rather she kept a few fine ones and many more of no particular breeding. In the 1870's and 1880's she had some Buff Cochins, Bantys, Brahmas, and Houdans, but in later years she spoke mainly of Wyandottes, Plymouth Rocks, and Rhode Island Reds. Caring for the chickens was at best a lot of work and sometimes it was so demanding a task that she was led to complain: "It makes much work for me." Eggs often did not hatch and small chicks were inclined to be frail, so if the weather was too hot or too cold or too wet they would die in large numbers. To save some from the cold in 1878, she "picked up 30 or 40 and put them in a barrel which is turned on its side and put some warmed sticks of wood in and fastened the chicks in." Another time, after a heavy rain, she reported losing over seventy chickens. By way of contrast, in 1900, she rejoiced in the fact that she had two hundred healthy chickens and that few were dying. Lice were a constant threat to chickens and Sarah Jane sought in many ways to fight the parasites. On several occasions she tells of greasing the heads of her little chickens with sweet oil to combat vermin; another time, in 1906, a man came to the farm to sell powder which killed chicken lice, and Sarah Jane bought it. Another means of keeping chickens healthy was to keep the henhouse clean, a chore Sarah Jane performed dozens of times. "Friday I worked at cleaning the hen house," begins one of her accounts. "I took out nearly everything in it then wet it thoroughly with water by using my sprinkler then put kerosene and turpentine in the water and went over it again to kill the vermin. When I had got things all right again it was nearly night." A hawk killed a chicken one day and a mink destroyed a hen and two chicks the same night in 1901, but Sarah Jane remarked that these occurrences were extremely rare. Skunks were menaces periodically and rated notices in the diary several times. Sarah Jane related in 1886:

Thursday night were awakened in the night by the hens making a great squawking. I got up in a hurry, lit the lantern and went out to see what was the matter. Opened the door and saw the largest kind of a skunk eating up my chickens. Some of the hens flew out of the door scared. I shut it and went to the house to see what could be done. Merrill came down stairs and went and got a pole. I held the lantern and threw [*sic*] the open window he

punched the skunk until he stunned it then he knocked it on the head until it was dead when he took the pitchfork and carried it out of the henhouse. Then we hastened away for the perfume was such that it sickened us. It was near morning and we did not get to sleep again.

In 1906, Sarah Jane went to see Ann's incubator, but she never tells before her diary ends whether or not she purchased one. Probably she did not, because in August, 1912, she "rode to Hale and got some Buff Rock eggs. . . . I bought two settings for one dollar. The road was very dusty. Friday I gave them to the hens." About the only commercial gadget she mentions purchasing was a "Poultry Feeder and Fountain"; her father and Esther set it up and Sarah Jane commented: "I think it will be fine." This was in 1905. A pleasant part of the whole ritual of caring for the chickens were the trips to the Wapsie River to gather clam shells which were later broken up and fed to the chickens. Usually the trips were made in August and September, and wading in the warm water accompanied the gathering of shells. "I . . . enjoyed it immensely," was Sarah Jane's reaction to these outings.²³

From time to time Sarah Jane sold some of her chickens, and the prices she received seem incredible to the present-day reader. In August, 1878, "Peck the butcher came and bought a dozen of my chickens at a shilling apiece." Twenty years later, Sarah Jane "picked up forty chickens for Merrill to take to town. They amounted to eight dollars and ninety five cents." A year later "the poultry man came and I sold 24 young roosters at five cents per pound." In December, 1900, Roy took fifty chickens to Wyoming for Sarah Jane and sold them for twelve dollars. Finally, fourteen chickens sold in Wyoming in January, 1906, brought 36c each.²⁴

Undoubtedly the Kimballs marketed eggs before 1890, but Sarah Jane did not report the fact. From the late 1890's on, however, she gives considerable space to notations of egg sales. In July, 1897, "father went to Wyoming and took 30 dozen and 2 eggs and got seven cents per dozen." At

²³ Diary, May 31, 1876; Sept. 26, Dec. 13, 1877; May 4, 1878; Nov. 13, 1881; Sept. 23, 1883; Aug. 1, Oct. 31, 1886; June 5, 1887; May 18, July 6, 1890; May 14, Aug. 13, 1893; Aug. 19, 1894; Aug. 25, 1895; June 28, Nov. 1, 1896; Oct. 30, Nov. 27, 1898; Sept. 10, 1899; June 17, July 15, 1900; Jan. 20, Sept. 8, 22, Oct. 27, 1901; July 20, 1902; June 21, July 5, 1903; May 7, 1905; June 17, July 15, Sept. 23, 1906; June 9, 30, July 7, Aug. 11, 1907; June 19, 1910; Aug. 4, 1912.

²⁴ Diary, Aug. 3, 1878; Nov. 13, 1898; Dec. 24, 1899; Dec. 31, 1900; Nov. 23, 1902; Jan. 14, 1906.

that time of year eggs were apparently plentiful, and as a result the price was low; in the wintertime when eggs were relatively scarce their price was naturally high. For example, in January, 1899, Sarah Jane received twenty cents a dozen for eggs in Wyoming, and in February of the same year she "got good prices" for chickens, butter, and eggs. By April, when she took thirty-five dozen eggs to town, the price was down to ten cents a dozen. In April, 1901, the price was still ten cents; and in May, when Sarah Jane took seventy-eight dozen eggs to town, it was eleven cents. Once in July and again in August, 1901, she sold fifty-one dozen and forty-nine dozen eggs respectively, but she did not record the price received. By January, 1902, the price was back to twenty cents a dozen; in May it was down to fourteen cents. Five years later the price was still the same. "Just after dinner," wrote Sarah Jane in April, 1907, "E. E. Wright came for the eggs. We let him have forty dozen at fourteen cents per dozen." The next time Wright called, three weeks later, Sarah Jane "let him have 37 dozen at two cents less than the grocer's price which was 15 cents." By the end of the first decade of the present century egg prices were considerably higher than they had been twenty years earlier. In April, 1909, Sarah Jane received twenty-two cents a dozen for forty-five dozen eggs in Wyoming; and in January, 1910, she received thirty cents a dozen.²⁵

In addition to carrying her share of the burden of daily farm and home chores, Sarah Jane found time to devote to other pursuits; four in particular gave her pleasure: raising birds, tending a flower garden, making interesting and artistic curios, and writing. She made something of an economic sideline of her canaries as she did of her chickens. Once just before Christmas she took three canaries to Hallett's drugstore and sold them to the druggist for eighty cents apiece. Another time she wrote: "This forenoon I let out my birds in my room and washed the big cage very clean. Afternoon I caught and put them in again. They seemed to enjoy their freedom. I have 24 birds in all now. I have had good luck hatching them." Certain birds became favorites quite naturally and were kept for years; one of these "got to having fits and I had to kill him this morning. He had lived nearly twelve years."²⁶

²⁵ Diary, Mar. 30, 1890; July 11, 1897; Jan. 8, Feb. 26, Apr. 16, 1899; Apr. 21, May 5, July 21, Aug. 4, 1901; Jan. 26, May 4, 1902; Apr. 5, 1903; Apr. 7, 28, 1907; Apr. 25, May 16, 1909; Jan. 23, 1910.

²⁶ Diary, Dec. 18, 1880; Aug. 20, 28, 1881; Sept. 27, 1882; May 26, 1889; Jan. 6, 1901.

Taking delight in beauty and creativeness, Sarah Jane, as long as she lived, derived much pleasure from her flowers and plants. During the winter she studied seed catalogs and planned her orders so that her seeds and plants would arrive at the proper time. Frequently she placed orders in February and March. Thus, one cold day in 1877 she "put four letters in the P.O. one to Cole and Brother for seeds one to Detroit seed company. . . ." On another occasion she wrote to Leeds and Company for a catalog of plants, and by the 1890's she was doing business with the Henderson Company. As soon as the weather permitted she turned her attention toward the tasks of getting her garden ready for planting by spading, raking, and fertilizing it, and of taking her bulbs and plants out of the cellar where she had kept them over the winter. Usually she made a record of this activity. "Afternoon wanted to set out some of my plants from the cellar," she wrote in April, 1890. "Too much wind so fixed the foundation for my glass house [a sort of greenhouse built of old windows] and wheeled some dirt to fill up some of the holes on the lawn. . . . Saturday. . . . Afternoon put a lot of my roses from the cellar into the garden. . . . Wednesday I worked out of doors most of the day getting the rest of my plants out of the cellar and putting up my glass house. . . . I went to Ann's. She gave me some new kinds of flower seed." The next month she continued: "I went out and set out my geraniums in the garden that were in the cellar. . . . Got my plants in the mail. Got home at one oclock and after dinner potted my plants." In another entry she recorded setting out petunias, and sowing phlox, sweet alyssum, and amaranths. Once in a while she was too eager and the temperature dipped low. Then she "went out and covered up my plants with crocks and shingles. I got very cold."

Garden activity, as can well be imagined, was not steady but had to be fitted in around other tasks that could not be left undone. It was work eminently worth doing in terms of the satisfaction it brought and of the beauty which resulted. It also enabled Sarah Jane to enjoy more fully neighbors' flowers and to exchange seeds, slips, plants, and bulbs with others sharing her interest. In the fall much of the spring work had to be done in reverse, always with an eye on the weather. "No frost yet to kill my flowers," wrote Sarah Jane during a warm October. "Chrysanthemums having a good chance." But frost was certain to come, so each year she prepared for it. "As the weather was growing cooler I moved my plants on the porch and in the woodshed," she related. "I moved my little green house under the west

porch and filled it with plants. . . . Covered up my plants in the garden." Then as time permitted she "took up some of my plants and put them in the cellar."²⁷

In the winter, when Sarah Jane's artistic drive could not find an outlet in working with flowers, she spent much of her free time creating bric-a-brac and curios of one sort and another to decorate the home. This interest was especially reflected in the parlor, cluttered up as it was in the best Victorian tradition with ornate furniture, whatnots, elaborate picture frames, stuffed birds, figures of animals and people, a mirror with gilded frame, a stereoscope and slides on a table, fancy vases, rocks, shells, and numerous other knickknacks, much of it Sarah Jane's handiwork. "I've been busy lately," she said in 1881, "working at cutting out and stuffing animals." On another winter evening some years later she wrote: "Have spent most of my time in the evenings stringing corn. Finished it during the week. Also finished my Snow Palace. Wednesday and Thursday mother and I worked in the parlor and arranged things differently. I raised the east shelf higher. Put my Snow Palace by itself. Hung up my corn frame with the Corn Palace Picture in it. We took the couch out of the room as there was no room for it." Sarah Jane's creations were definitely dated, of course, but they testified to her fine craftsmanship and creative sense.²⁸

Her diary itself is proof of Sarah Jane's interest in writing, but additional evidence is given by numerous poems and essays which she produced. Some of her titles follow: "The Sleighride and Spelling School," "To Carrie," "On Hearing Mary Blain Sing," "What I Saw and What I Thought," "The Capture of a Bird," "The Old Red Mill," "Cold Weather," "The Snow Storm," "Lines to an Absent Friend," "The Rain," "The Weather," "Thoughts," "Scraps of Affectionate Correspondence in Rhyme," "Kind Words," "Lines for an Album," and "The Mother's Sorrow." Even the titles have a Victorian ring, and the thoughts expressed were in the same romantic tradition. Highly sentimental and otherworldly, her literary creations seem amateurish and almost unbelievable today; nevertheless, they indicate that life on the farm had not destroyed her sensitive and artistic nature, and they must be rated by the standards of her time and place.

Just as Sarah Jane's poetry seems out-of-date today, so do some of the

²⁷ Diary, Feb. 21, Apr. 28, 1877; Mar. 23, 1879; Oct. 3, 1886; Oct. 20, 1889; Apr. 13, 20, May 4, Oct. 12, 1890; Mar. 29, 1891; Oct. 13, 1895; May 7, 1899.

²⁸ Diary, Mar. 10, 1877; Feb. 13, 1881; Feb. 7, 1892.

medical practices and home remedies of her time. All of the Kimballs, except Ellen and Ann, enjoyed good health and lived to be unusually old; still, illness did strike them occasionally. If the illness was prolonged or unusually severe, a doctor was summoned from Wyoming, but for less serious sicknesses Sarah Jane or her mother, aided by the much-consulted family medical book, did the doctoring. And always where sickness struck "very many of the neighbors" came in "with their offers of assistance." Physical ailments which invaded the Kimball, Conmey, and Bruntlett homes were sciatica, lung fever, cholera morbus, bilious colic, quinsy, catarrh, prostate trouble, "something like asthma," measles, colds, typhoid fever (which struck Gene while at college at Ames), rheumatic fever, bronchitis, and inflammation of the bowels. None of these proved fatal, although some of the illnesses were painful and serious, requiring injections of morphine and expert medical attention. The death of Mrs. Kimball resulted from a paralytic stroke and that of Mr. Kimball from the complications of extreme old age.

In the treatment of what might be termed everyday ills, mysticism and magic in keeping with the Kimballs' belief in spiritualism were at times appealed to. Thus, in 1875, Sarah Jane wrote: "Jennie had a severe headache and I tried to charm it away but could not." Perhaps the charm was massage; at least, when another friend had a headache, Sarah Jane "asked her to let me cure it by laying on my hand and she consented. In ten minutes her headache had gone." When charms failed, old-fashioned remedies were brought into play. To relieve Ellen, who felt sick before her daughter was born, Sarah Jane gave her "a good sweating with green corn then rubbed her good. Afterward she felt better." After Merrill was thrown by a horse Mrs. Kimball bandaged his cuts and bruises "with arnica and wormwood and in a little while he was easier." Then when Sarah Jane herself had a sore throat she "had sulphur burned in the room and put kerosene oil and salt on my neck." In a couple of days she felt much better.

Brandy was the standard remedy for anyone who was overcome by the heat in summer, and rosin was used for an aching back. Once when the schoolteacher who was staying at the Kimballs' had a severe cold Sarah Jane "give her some hoarhound tea and rubbed whisky on her throat and neck and bathed her wrists." The next morning the teacher was better. Sometimes even will power was utilized, as on an occasion when Sarah Jane had bronchitis; she wrote that she "used all my will power to drive it away

with the aid of water treatment and turpentine." On another occasion when she suffered with catarrh in her head and throat she found comfort in "Mrs. Lindsay's remedy — pie plant and peppermint." Again, the pain from a wrenched knee was stopped by wrapping the knee in wormwood and vinegar, a combination which was also used for neuralgia in the face. In addition to the use of herbs, spices, liquor, and other concoctions, patent medicines were frequently resorted to. Thus, Sarah Jane noted in 1880 the receipt of "my package of medicine from Dr. J. H. Mosely," the purchases of King's Discovery and Hood's Sarsaparilla for coughs and colds in 1890, and of Doan's Kidney Pills in 1907.²⁹

Mrs. Kimball was much in demand as a midwife at the births of neighborhood babies, but Sarah Jane, as became her modest nature, gave only passing mention to this activity of her mother's. "Last night," she wrote in 1878, "mother was called out to attend Mrs. Pelky. Short work was made of it and now she has a fine boy." Another entry is even more cryptic: "Thursday morning Lamon Van came to ask mother to go and see Lizzie. Saturday very warm and afternoon I went to Shaffers awhile. Coming back I stopped in to see Lizzie Van and the new baby."³⁰

Because of their excellent teeth, the Kimballs were spared frequent toothaches and visits to the dentist: only a few references to teeth are found in the diary, but two or three of these throw light on the degree of suffering which accompanied tooth trouble in the nineteenth century. In the summer of 1876, Sarah Jane "went to Dr. McGrew to get him to pull a tooth for me but he had no instrument. Then to Dr Calkins and he dont pull teeth. Then to Dr Perry and he said he would do it for me. I went to his office with him and he pulled it. It hurt me much but I was glad when it was out. I felt faint. . . ." Then in January, 1878, she "went to town with father to have a tooth pulled which has been bothering me lately. I went to Doctor McGrew and he said he thought the tooth might be saved by putting in creosote to kill the nerve. I resolved to try it and bought some." The

²⁹ Diary, Feb. 9, 1875; Aug. 11, 18, 25, Dec. 22, 1878; June 13, 1879; Feb. 29, Apr. 29, July 30, Sept. 14, Oct. 17, 31, 1880; May 8, June 12, Oct. 13, 1881; July 23, 30, 1882; Oct. 21, 1883; Aug. 31, Sept. 7, 1884; July 4, 1886; Aug. 19, 1888; Apr. 7, June 2, Sept. 1, 22, 29, 1889; Aug. 3, 10, 17, 1890; Jan. 11, 18, 25, Sept. 13, 1891; Aug. 21, Nov. 20, 1892; Dec. 17, 1893; Feb. 11, Sept. 9, 1894; Sept. 8, 1895; Dec. 2, 1896; July 16, Sept. 17, Dec. 31, 1899; Oct. 21, Dec. 30, 1900; Mar. 3, June 16, 1901; Aug. 21, 1904; Jan. 22, Feb. 26, 1905; Aug. 4, 1907; June 13, 20, 1909.

³⁰ Diary, Jan. 30, 1878; Dec. 28, 1886; Apr. 3, 1887.

treatment apparently did not help immediately because six days later Sarah Jane complained that she had "been having a hard time with my tooth. Seems as if I couldn't bear it much longer," but the next day she admitted that the tooth was a little better. Ann had a painful experience at the dentist's in 1885 which Sarah Jane reported in rather frightful detail. "We went to Hepler the dentist. Ann was too nervous to let him draw the tooth and finally when she did he only broke it and she was raving with pain," wrote Sarah Jane. "She cramped and we rubbed her and gave her warm water and after awhile she came to herself and had another drawn that had an ulcer in it. Then she laid down on the couch while we went to the dress-makers." Other comments in the diary relating to teeth are brief and commonplace, indicating nothing unusual about visits to the dentist. "I also went to Dr. Hepler to get my teeth filled" is a typical example.⁸¹

Methods of maintaining personal cleanliness are left pretty much up to the imagination so far as the diary is concerned. One chance remark, however, does throw some light on the subject: "After supper and Merrill had rested a little he thought he would take his usual bath in the kitchen." Undoubtedly this lavation was performed in a wash tub by the kitchen stove. Details of personal grooming are also omitted except for notations to the effect that either Mrs. Kimball or Sarah Jane cut the men's hair.⁸²

One subject that receives about as much attention as any other from Sarah Jane is the weather, an element with which all farmers have very direct contact. Each winter brought cold, snow, winds, and blizzards; while the summers contributed extreme heat, occasionally drought, as in 1886 when pastures were "getting more and more rusty" and cattle were "getting hungry," and usually at least one severe storm. Some of the storms were rather terrifying as well as destructive. One in 1874 was typical.

Last night hot and sultry. Couldn't half sleep. . . . I went down stairs and looking from the west window saw a black cloud rising in the northwest. It came fast and looked threatening. Mother waked and got up. There had been no wind but now it began to raise. We shut all the windows and doors. The wind rose higher, the lightning flashed and the thunder sounded nearer. We were afraid of a big storm. Ellen Merrill and Father got up.

⁸¹ Diary, June 21, 1876; Jan. 2, 8, 1878; July 19, Aug. 16, 1885; Sept. 26, 1886; Oct. 28, 1888; Oct. 30, 1892; Oct. 31, 1897; Feb. 25, 1900.

⁸² Diary, May 9, Nov. 21, 1886; May 5, 1889; May 11, 1890; Nov. 1, 1896; June 1, 1902; Feb. 17, 1907.

Merrill went and shut the barn. Then the wind burst with all its fury upon us. The trees bent to the ground as we could see when the lightning flashed for it was very dark. The house was shaken by the force against it. Some of us went in the cellar but came up in a few minutes. We struck a match to look at the clock and it was 10 minutes to four. It was now raining very hard. The storm lasted $\frac{3}{4}$ of an hour then stopped and we saw the daylight was coming. We waited until it was light enough to see out of doors then we went out to see what mischief the wind had done. The ground was covered with leaves and small limbs of trees broken off. The fences were torn down in many places and some trees broken and uprooted. Our henhouse was moved three feet from its foundation. The new cattle shed was blown down. Things looked dubious enough this morning. . . . The barnyard fence was blown down but not one of the cattle stirred until they saw us. . . . The sun rose bright and clear as if nothing unusual had happened. After breakfast Merrill and John . . . went to tell the neighbors that we would have a raising this afternoon to raise the shed.

Two years later even greater damage was done by a similar storm which tore off the barn and hogshed roofs, moved the henhouse, ripped up trees and fences, and blew down a neighbor's new house. But nature had its benign side, also, and Sarah Jane gloried in its beauty and wonder. A sunset which tinged the clouds "with the brightest golden tints" and reflected "a blazing yellow on the dark clouds in the east and on the trees grass and shrubbery on the ground" filled her with delight, as did the singing of the bobolinks in the meadow or the pageantry of her flowers in the garden.³³

Naturally enough the subjects treated in Sarah Jane's diary are those of special interest and concern to a woman, a fact which in itself lends significance to the diary, since farm men were more apt to keep records than were farm women. Nevertheless, much information about male activity on the farm and farming practices can be found in the diary. Early in April or late in March Sarah Jane would write: "Merrill commenced work on the farm today." Then about the middle of April she would note: "Merrill finished sowing and dragging his oats." During the first half of May, a time of "apple, plum and cherry trees in blossom and lilacs showing the purple and

³³ Diary, June 8, 1874; July 5, 1876; June 2, 1878; June 12, 1881; Aug. 3, 1884; Aug. 8, 1885; May 9, July 18, 26, Aug. 8, 15, 1886; Aug. 14, Sept. 4, 1887; June 30, 1889; June 29, 1890; July 16, 1893; Sept. 9, 1894; June 20, 1897; July 14, 28, 1901; June 8, 1902; July 12, 1903; July 9, 1911.

white," Merrill prepared the ground for corn and planted it, often with "John Conmeyer helping him." In 1876, they "put in about a hundred acres." No description of techniques involved in sowing oats and corn is given, but we do learn that Merrill took a plow to Wyoming to be sharpened in the spring of 1885. Keeping the weeds down drew no comments, so the next farm operation to be recorded in the diary was haying, a July activity. Some years the season "was cool and good hay weather," but all too frequently intense heat made the work almost unbearable, and heavy rains threatened to ruin the cut hay. A particularly hot haying season came in 1885, when Sarah Jane wrote: "Merrill and Lewellyn stacking hay had to stop often to cool off in the shade. At noon mercury at 99°. Afternoon grew hotter until between 2 and 3 o'clock the thermometer stood at 105. The boys came in the house and were almost overheated. They waited awhile but could hardly cool off." Once in a while a heavy rain would come at night during the haying season; then Merrill would have to get out of bed and go outside to round off an unfinished haystack in order to save the hay from spoiling. In 1886, "a Mr. Jewett came to stay all night. He is introducing hayloaders." Three years later the Kimballs built a new haybarn, and thereafter hay was put in the barn rather than stacked or piled over the stables as had been done previously.³⁴

As soon as haying was completed, and sometimes even before then, attention was directed to the harvesting of grain. In the 1870's the Kimballs raised wheat, but thereafter they concentrated on oats. Apparently the self binder was new to the Kimballs in 1886, for Sarah Jane wrote in that year: "Monday Alton Alden came to cut our oats with his self binder. Mr. A. was here and mother and I went out to see it do the work." Shocking was done by Merrill and John Conmeyer. In 1893 Charley Bruntlett cut the oats with his new McCormick reaper. "It runs like a daisy," commented Sarah Jane. After the oats were shocked and dried out somewhat they were piled into stacks to await the coming of the threshing rig. Threshing was done as a rule about the middle of August and it made additional work for the women, as we have seen. In 1890, Sarah Jane gave more notice than usual to the job of threshing: she wrote: "Just after dinner the machine came

³⁴ Diary, May 27, 1876; Apr. 9, 1877; May 18, July 23, 1884; May 1, July 29, Aug. 2, 1885; June 6, 1886; May 8, July 10, 1887; Apr. 15, May 20, 27, July 22, Aug. 19, 1888; July 14, 28, 1889; July 26, 1891; May 13, 1894; July 12, 1896; Apr. 10, 1898; July 15, 1900; May 22, 1904; May 24, 1908; May 15, 1910.

along the road and entered the field where the grain was. We watched it move along. As it was the first steam thrasher that had ever been on the place mother and I had the curiosity to see it work." By late October the corn was ready to be picked, and Merrill had to find men to help him with the work. "Merrill been husking corn all the week and had Fred Conmey and Hal. Smith to help him," noted Sarah Jane in 1889. After the task was finished, she would add that "his hands are bad."⁸⁵

Most of the hay, oats, and corn were fed to the livestock on the farm, but the surplus was sold; thus, in 1891, several "men here buying hay at ten dollars a ton and hauling it off." Portions of both corn and oats were taken to town to be ground into feed for the chickens and pigs. The Kimballs always raised pigs for sale, and Sarah Jane usually noted the marketing of them. "Father sold 25 fat hogs and he and Merrill and Marshall drove them to Wyoming," she wrote in late 1874. "He received \$430 for them." A year later Mr. Kimball sold more hogs, getting \$6.40 a hundred for them; "John Conmey drove seven our folks drove 40," Sarah Jane reported. In November, 1877, and December, 1878, thirty-five hogs and eighteen hogs respectively were driven to town for sale, the latter drove bringing two cents per pound. By the middle 1880's Merrill, with the aid of some of the neighbors, hauled his hogs to Wyoming or Hale instead of driving them. The average weight of some he sold in 1890 was 532 pounds. In January, 1891, Mr. Kimball sold fifty hogs, and Merrill had to recruit four neighbor teams to help haul the hogs to town. In later years the Kimballs raised fewer pigs than they did before 1900, but they always had a few to sell. In October, 1898, Sarah Jane reported that their hogs were dying with cholera, but she gave no details regarding the numbers dying.⁸⁶

The Kimballs after 1873 seemingly raised many more hogs for sale than they did cattle; most of the cattle they had were milk cows rather than steers. Nevertheless, some cattle sales were reported, though very sketchily. In July, 1885, "father and Merrill went and drove the six cattle from the pasture that were sold the other day; four cows and two heifers." Two

⁸⁵ Diary, July 21, 1878; Aug. 10, 1884; Aug. 1, Nov. 7, 1886; July 17, Sept. 4, 11, Oct. 30, 1887; Nov. 4, 18, 1888; Aug. 11, Nov. 10, 17, 1889; July 27, Aug. 17, 1890; Aug. 2, Nov. 22, 1891; Aug. 21, 1892; July 30, Nov. 5, 1893; July 28, 1895.

⁸⁶ Diary, Aug. 8, Nov. 21, 1874; Dec. 15, 1875; Nov. 16, 1877; Dec. 31, 1878; Feb. 22, 1885; Oct. 13, 1889; Mar. 30, June 15, Nov. 9, 1890; Jan. 18, Apr. 12, 1891; Nov. 20, 1892; Oct. 20, 1898; Dec. 17, 1899; Nov. 4, 1900; Jan. 11, 1903; Jan. 9, 1910.

years later, "a man came for the six heifers that had been sold." Only twice does Sarah Jane tell us the prices received: in 1897, "father sold four steers and the cow Beauty to Eb. Wherry. The steers brought four cents per hundred and the cow three cents;" and, in 1902, "we sold the cow Cherry to Levsen for \$47.52." Only once, in December, 1883, did Sarah Jane speak of disease among the cattle. "Evening Merrill noticed among the cattle one sick yearling steer and two calves," she wrote. "I went to see them. Think the calves have the black leg. The yearling we gave some slices of raw pork. Felt bad all night on their account." Both calves died, and John and Merrill skinned them.³⁷

Horses were kept by the Kimballs for working and driving purposes, not for selling and trading. So far as Sarah Jane's diary is concerned, we find only one report of the sale of a horse by the Kimballs; this sale occurred in 1878 when "Squire Brownell came and bought the colt Beryl for 50 dollars." In 1881, John Conmey brought a sick colt to the Kimballs for treatment, but the colt died. "John will feel the loss," remarked Sarah Jane. When one of the horses, Merle, got sick, "Alton Alden came and after working over him he began to get better after midnight." Three months later, however, "Merle came in the stable as usual and while Merrill was doing the other chores laid down in his stall and died." The next month, January, 1904, Merrill purchased a handsome, ten-year-old mare for \$125. Six years later he purchased another mare for \$175.³⁸

In addition to planting, cultivating, and harvesting crops and raising and selling livestock, the men on the farm had other jobs to perform. Some of these tasks, gathering in the garden truck and fruit in the fall, mowing the lawn, doing the daily chores, and making trips to town, were shared with the womenfolk; others, such as moving heavy stoves, hauling dirt and manure, cutting down trees, building fences and farm buildings, working on the roads, and shoveling snow, were generally performed by the men only. Winter was the easiest time of the year in many ways, because there was no work to be done in the fields; feeding the livestock, milking, and keeping warm were the main winter jobs. Still when there was much snow and drifting, these winter jobs were not easy. "Today . . . father and Merrill

³⁷ Diary, Dec. 16, 23, 1883; July 11, Dec. 20, 1885; July 10, 1887; Apr. 12, 1891; Aug. 15, 1897; June 11, July 2, 1899; Feb. 18, Mar. 11, 1900; May 4, 1902; Nov. 3, 1907; July 23, 1911.

³⁸ Diary, May 15, 1878; Apr. 3, 1881; Sept. 6, Dec. 6, 13, 20, 1903; Jan. 3, 1904; Jan. 2, 1910.

have worked nearly all day at shoveling snow so they could make it convenient to feed the cattle and hogs. The snow drifts are high and densely packed around the stacks and outbuildings," said Sarah Jane early in 1881. Four years later, after a severe blizzard, she commented again on the snow: "Afternoon the men dug snow out of the road so they could get to Wyoming."³⁹

Remarks about the condition of the roads are frequent throughout the diary. In winter, snow made the going difficult and once in a while a vehicle became stuck; then it was necessary for the occupants "to get out and unhitch the horses and get the sleigh back where the traveled road was." When the snow melted or when it rained, mud was the problem, and at times the roads were "nearly impassable." Other times "mud flew all over us when the horses pranced a little." When it was too dry, dust was the result, and then Sarah Jane would write: "Carriages go by on the road enveloped in a cloud of dust." Occasionally the roads were in good condition, a fact which would move her to comment: "The roads were nice and smooth and Pet felt like going." In July, 1906, she first mentioned a vehicle that was to be largely responsible for the improvement of Iowa roads and those of all other states; she wrote: "Afternoon I went to town with Merrill and Esther. When near there we met an automobile and the horses were afraid. They were soon quieted and we moved on." A week later a similar episode occurred: "Coming home we met an automobile. Pet scared and we jumped out of the buggy. They stopped and we got by all right." As late as 1909 Sarah Jane remarked, obviously with a sigh of relief after a trip to town: "Didn't see an auto going or coming." Gradually both she and the horses became accustomed to automobiles, and when Charles Kimball visited the farm in 1912, Sarah Jane was willing to go for a ride in his car. "It was fine," was her reaction to the ride.⁴⁰

It is intriguing to wonder whether Sarah Jane, as she stepped out of the auto after her ride, thought back to the time fifty-six years before when she wrote in youthful enthusiasm: "We expect to have a new house when we get rich and we think that day is not far distant. . . ." The new house

³⁹ Diary, Mar. 20, 1881; Oct. 16, 1884; Feb. 15, 1885; Nov. 14, 21, 1886; Nov. 6, 1887; Nov. 20, 1892; June 11, 1899; Jan. 7, 1912.

⁴⁰ Diary, Feb. 13, 1875; Jan. 16, 1877; Jan. 2, Feb. 23, 1878; Apr. 10, 1881; May 1, 1885; Apr. 18, 1886; Mar. 3, 1889; Sept. 3, 1899; Jan. 21, 1900; June 7, 1903; Nov. 26, 1905; July 22, 29, 1906; Sept. 19, 1909; July 28, 1912.

came and so did a new barn and many other items, including a very substantial bank balance, but so did countless hours of hard work and much self denial. Also, there had been some loneliness and at least one unfulfilled dream associated with a certain Joe whose name appeared periodically in the diary until 1885. Once in 1877 Sarah Jane confided: "I dreamed I was being married to Joe by O. E. Aldrich. It seemed so real." Still, all things considered, it had been a good life, full of achievement, satisfaction, and good fortune. Death did not make a break in the family circle for sixty years after Mr. and Mrs. Kimball were married, and there had been many happy times, described mainly in a succeeding article, to counterbalance the hard work. Sarah Jane's routine had not changed much, but the coming of the telephone and rural mail service in 1901 made her life somewhat more pleasant than it had been. Her father and Merrill had been more fortunate, having their burdens lightened considerably by the introduction of hay-loaders, riding plows, self binders, windmills, and steam threshers. Even the international picture had been bright, and only once had Sarah Jane reported on world affairs. After the Battle of Manila Bay, she wrote: "Good news was heard from Dewey fighting the Spaniards in the Philippine Islands and great rejoicing was had in town. Guns were firing and bells ringing." If highlights of her life such as these flashed through Sarah Jane's mind that day in 1912 she must have felt that her pioneer faith had been justified and that Iowa was still "one of the most beautiful of places."⁴¹

⁴¹ Diary, Nov. 26, Dec. 5, 1875; Aug. 15, Sept. 4, 16, Oct. 27, 1877; Jan. 1, 1879; May 10, 1885; May 8, 1898.

SOURCE MATERIAL OF IOWA HISTORY

[Iowa newspapers of the Civil War years contain many first-hand accounts of the life of the Union soldier — at camp, in battle, and — occasionally — in prison. Most of these are letters, written by the soldiers for the hometown papers. On January 10, 1865, the Fort Dodge *North West* announced: "We commence the publication of the experiences and observations of the 'Fort Dodge Drummer Boy,' in this paper. George belongs to one of the best families in this place, and his statement which we have taken down for publication is entirely reliable." There followed, in the issues of January 10 and 17, the story of George A. Tod, who had enlisted in Company I, 32nd Iowa Infantry, as a drummer boy when only sixteen years of age (not fifteen, as stated by the editor). He was born in Pennsylvania on March 19, 1846, the son of Samuel and Jane (McLean) Tod. His parents moved west in the 1850's, first to Rock Island, Illinois, and then, in 1856, to Fort Dodge, where Samuel operated a sawmill. George enlisted in the service on October 7, 1862; in February of 1864, while with his regiment in Mississippi, he was taken prisoner. For months his family heard nothing from him; then, on December 31, 1864, he arrived at Fort Dodge with the story of his experiences in Southern prisons. Following a brief furlough he rejoined his regiment and was mustered out on July 10, 1865, at Montgomery, Alabama. After the war he returned to his native state of Pennsylvania. — EDITOR.]

ADVENTURES OF GEO. A. TOD AN IOWA DRUMMER BOY IN REBEL PRISONS AT CAHAWBA AND ANDERSONVILLE

In August, 1862, the whole country was in a blaze of excitement and enthusiasm, occasioned by a call for 300,000 volunteers. A company was being raised at Fort Dodge and vicinity, which afterwards became Company I, of the 32nd Iowa Infantry. — Among the young men who eagerly sought for a place in the ranks, was George A. Tod, son of Samuel Tod, (a prominent [sic] citizen of Fort Dodge,) who was a mere boy, too young to pass muster as a regular soldier, but he was admitted as a drummer boy. He was

but little more than 15, small of his age, and very young looking but a remarkably bright boy, and a great favorite.

He shared the dangers and privations of the Regiment for about a year and a half, without any serious mishap. When Sherman's expedition was undertaken to Meridian [Mississippi], February 3d, 1864, he started with his Regiment [from Vicksburg]. After the first days' march they camped near the Big Black [River]. In the morning he started on in advance of the Regiment, and getting tired carrying his heavy knapsack, he stopped occasionally to rest. He was crossing a low piece of ground, out of sight of the Regiment, when three rebels concealed in the bushes, leveled their guns upon him, and one called out

"Surrender, you d——d little Yankee. Come in here quick, you d——d little Yankee, — hurry in."

He saw no escape and threw up his hands in token of surrender. As he came near them, one called out — "I speak for that," — referring [sic] to a large blanket on his knapsack. Just at this time they discovered a Union soldier who had become weary and fallen behind. They soon captured him.

They then started off swiftly; threatening to shoot the last prisoner, who was not able to keep up. — George found his load was impeding his progress, and taking off his drum he threw it away, and told his captors he would carry it no farther. — They left it and hurried on to avoid our army, and at last stopped near an old corn crib that had been built in the woods away from any house. Here they thought it safe to stay long enough to search their prisoners. George had lately invested most of his pay in a six shooting revolver, and they found only \$5,00 in greenbacks on him. But with the other they were more lucky, finding upon him \$80,00. They then made a search of their knapsacks, taking from them everything of any value. The only thing left for George was a tin oyster can and an old blanket. One of the rebels wanted to take this blanket, but the other declared that George should have the old blanket, as they had taken the good one from him. They found some crackers and a little butter in one of the haversacks and sat down and ate them with great relish. Finding some tobacco with their last prisoner, they were going to divide it among themselves, but he begged so hard for a share that they gave him part.

Here they were joined by two more rebels, and soon after captured another boy who had given out and fallen in the rear of our army. They were then taken to a house where they found the Lieutenant who com-

manded the squad, and he had two more prisoners. Here they were placed in charge of five horsemen, who drove them on foot all night, stopping but once, long enough to feed their horses. They reached Brownsville in the morning, but were so worn out that the rebels were compelled to get a wagon to carry them in. The next day they reached Jackson. Here their guards reported to a rebel Gen. Lee [Stephen Dill Lee], who was mounted, and with his staff. — He ordered them to “Make the d——d Yankees fall in behind, and if they do not keep up, shoot them.” — The boy that was last taken soon gave out and fell fainting in the road. They picked him up and took him to a house and left him.

They soon came to a Regiment of Cavalry, and as they passed, one of the officers called out to George, — “Hello, little fellow, ain’t you most tired out?” and another taking pity on him, lifted him up behind him on his horse. At night they camped, but the prisoners got nothing to eat. One of the rebels gave George a small piece of a cake made of flour and water. In the morning the rebels found some flour that was likely to be captured by our army and they took what they could carry of it. George, who was always looking ahead, filled his haversack, and took some in an old bag to his comrades, who were sleeping under a tree; — but they were so exhausted that they refused to carry it. That day they came to Gen. Lee’s headquarters, and he took the prisoners out one by one and questioned them very closely about the number of men Sherman had, his destination, &c., but did not get much information. That night they stopped at a plantation, and were placed in a negro hut for the night. While there, the ladies of the house came out to see the “Yankees.” They seemed to take a great interest in George and asked him all sorts of questions. “How he happened to go into the army, he was so young and small,” &c.

They had nothing to eat but some flour and water, which they mixed and ate half raw, at night sleeping on the ground without any blankets.

The next day they were taken to Morton and delivered to the Provost Marshal. Here George found a young Iowa soldier named Chandler, of the 4th Cavalry. [Luther P. Chandler, of Horton, corporal of Co. H, 4th Iowa Cavalry.] They were put on the cars next morning and taken to Meridian, where they were placed in a smoke house and left for the night, without anything to eat. — George took the remainder of the flour from his haversack and divided [it] among his six companions, and this was their supper. At 3 o’clock they were aroused and placed on the train again and taken to

Selma [Alabama]. As they left, the Sergeant of the rebel guard taking pity on them, gave them \$10 to buy something to eat. With this they bought at a station some biscuit, at the rate of four for a dollar, and some sweet potato pies at a dollar apiece. At Selma they were placed in a guard house with a large number of prisoners who had escaped from Cahawba [Cahaba, Alabama] prison and been re-captured. One of them, Lieut. ———, of the 4th Wisconsin Cavalry, had escaped seven times, and was heavily ironed. Here they gave the prisoners four crackers and a very small piece of meat for a days ration.

From here they were all taken on a steamer to Cahawba prison. This prison was a large building, partly enclosed, and surrounded with a stockade made by placing large posts firmly in the ground. There were about 300 hundred [sic] persons in this prison, and they were divided into three companies, numbered A, B, and C. The prisoners slept on the floor, with the exception of a few who had old quilts that the citizens had given them. The days' rations consisted of one quart of corn meal, and sometimes a piece of meat about two inches square. Once in ten days they receive[d] each a pint of black, dirty-looking beans, which were called "cow peas." They occasionally got a spoonful of salt each.

On the east side and 70 feet from the prison, was a steep bank of the Alabama river. The prisoners undertook the job of tunneling through from the prison floor for the purpose of making their escape. There was a raised floor in one corner of the prison, and through this they cut a hole sufficient to admit a man's body, and concealed it by setting a barrel over it. Here the men took turns working day after day, concealing the dirt under the floor. At last they came to the bank of the river, and to avoid discovery left that end of the tunnel filled. The night came for the attempted escape, and the men crowded into the tunnel one by one, and communicated to those in the prison by passing the word from one to the other. The one in advance punched a small hole thro' the crust at the bank, but thought it too light yet, and requested them to wait until it got darker. As the word was passed back, those in the prison misunderstood it and thought the attempt was to be abandoned for the night. So they returned to their quarters and went to sleep. — Those in the tunnel waited a while, and the advance guard at last pushed the dirt away from the mouth of the hole and crawled out, followed by 7 officers and 5 privates. They managed to cross the river and struck into the woods and traveled until they found a planter's stable. Here

they helped themselves to horses and mules and rode sixty miles before they were captured. Their comrades in the prison were very indignant in the morning when they found the officers had, as they supposed, deceived them, and only cared for themselves. The guards discovered the tunnel from the outside, and the prisoners were pursued, captured and soon brought back again.

At another time the boys cut thro' the brick wall and removed a post of the stockade and 15 of them escaped, but were finally re-captured. Some of them were concealed near town for several days and furnished with provisions by a negro. Two of the number, who had escaped several times, were now heavily ironed together by bars of iron fastened to their wrists and ankles.

One day a new guard was put on duty, who was heard to say in the morning that he would kill a Yankee before night. During the day one of the prisoners stood looking through the crack in the door, when this guard, without a word, drew up his musket and shot him dead.

At one time 25 men escaped by cutting their way out, but were hunted down by blood-hounds and all but two captured. After they were taken, the citizens formed a ring around them and prevented their escape, while they set the dogs upon them, the savage brutes mangling them in the most shocking manner. This was done as a punishment for their attempt to escape.

Rumors often reached the prisoners that they were going to be exchanged. On the 23d of April they were ordered to cook two days' rations. The next day they were taken out of prison and placed on board the steamer Reindeer. They felt in fine spirits, supposing they were about to be exchanged. Instead of that good fortune, however, they were being conveyed to Andersonville [Georgia], to undergo all the horrors of that dreadful slaughter-pen; — where instead of killing men out right without torture, they are murdered by inches; broiling in the hot sun by day, lying on the damp ground almost naked at night, drenched by heavy dews and rains, and starved, until insanity or death makes them insensible to further tortures.

They reached Andersonville on the 27th of April, 1864, and were at once turned into that horrible pen, from which there was scarcely a chance for escape from a lingering death or disease of the most loathsome kind. Anderson[ville] is an obscure Railroad station, containing but one store, a post office, and a few dwellings. The prison, or stockade, contains about

twenty acres of ground, surrounded by a wall of upright, hewn timbers set close together and firmly imbedded [sic] in the ground. — There is a small stream running thro' the yard, the ground being swampy near the banks, but on each side are high hills, which had been cleared of heavy timber. About 300 yards outside of the inclosure are two batteries, so stationed that the guns command the stockade. On the walls, at intervals of about 50 feet, are scaffolds erected for the guards, who occupy them constantly, well armed. At night there are guards placed at short intervals completely surrounding the stockade. Extending around on the inside, and ten feet from the walls, is the *dead-line*, marked by short posts driven into the ground and boards nailed to them. Who ever ventured outside of that line did so at the risk of having a dozen [sic] balls put through him by the guards.

As the new prisoners were about to enter the gates, the officers cautioned them to secrete anything that they wished to retain, as there was a gang of desperadoes [sic] inside who would rob them.

An immense crowd of wretched, half starved, ragged and dirty human beings had gathered near the gates to look at the late arrivals, and watch for any friend or comrade that might happen to be among them. — George went away from the crowd and found a small, low island in the marsh. He waded through the mud and water and took his claim beside a stump and made this his home for many long, weary weeks. The new prisoners had nothing given them to eat that night, and had to lie down on the damp ground, without any kind of a shelter or even a blanket. . . .

The next morning George got his rations for the day, which consisted of nothing but a little corn meal ground with the cob, and a small piece of meat. This they must mix with a little water and cook the best way they could. No cooking utensils were furnished, and the common method was to get a good sized chip and hollow it out a little, and putting their mixture in that, would hold it up to the fire until it was partially cooked on one side, when it was turned and the other side served the same way. — Though they were in the midst of plenty of timber, the only fuel furnished them was *three sticks of cordwood to each detachment of 270 men, each day*. This the men would divide up as they could with old knives and axes which they had managed to procure from the outside at enormous prices.

George had, through all of his travels and changes, managed to keep his tin oyster can, which was now of inestimable value to cook his meal in. He chose for his messmate one of his old comrades, the man who was captured

with him, Mr. Vincent [probably Beth [sic] Vincent of Fort Dodge, Co. I, 32nd Iowa Infantry]. They built a sort of clay furnace and fitting the can on it, managed to cook their meal in much better shape than most of their comrades could. The stump on their claim furnished them with fuel. They cut it in small pieces with knives, and occasionally could hire the use of an old ax.

They suffered so much from the intense heat of the sun, that they went to work and dug up roots, and with the clay and pieces of roots, built a sort of shelter high enough to be able to crawl under and escape from the scorching rays of the sun.

The suffering of the men from want of sufficient food, was very great. The use of the meal alone, half cooked, gave them the scurvy, from which they were fast becoming worn out, sick and dying. Many became so weak and disheartened that they neglected to go for their rations, and the loss of a days' allowance, wretched as it was, would be very sure to so weaken the poor fellows that they would lie down on the ground and die.

One day they received a large addition to their numbers, consisting of a body of veterans who had been captured at Plymouth. These men had just drawn new clothes, been paid off, and had managed to save a large share of their money. George made an arrangement with some of them to cook their meal on shares, and in this way he saved some, and making it into little balls, he cooked and sold them at 15 cents apiece. — This enabled him to buy some salt and other necessities. At one time he had saved 7 or 8 quarts of meal, but some one discovered it and carried it off.

At last fuel got so scarce that what he used in cooking the cakes was worth more than the cakes would sell for. George was sharp enough then to change his business. He had worked his stump all up and even dug out all of the roots, cut them up, dried and used them. He then formed a partnership with two Illinois boys, and they found some more stumps, rented an old ax and went into the fuel trade. The two stronger boys worked up the stumps so that George could handle the pieces, and he, with his knife, cut them up into small sticks about six inches long, and sold little bundles of them at 30 cents each.

About this time some of the prisoners had dug a tunnel under the stockade and had laid their plans for escape. George was employed to cook up some cakes for them. Owing to some cause only two succeeded in getting through the tunnel, and they were captured the next day.

Their sufferings increased as fuel became more difficult to obtain, and hundreds sickened and died from eating, day after day, nothing but half raw meal. Those who were helpless and lying in the scorching sun, were sometimes carried up to the surgeon's by their comrades — he would prescribe, but had no medicine for them, and they could not obtain it. The only medicine they could obtain for the scurvy, was sumac berries, which being sour would afford a slight relief. Those of the prisoners who had no friends, were left to their fate when taken sick. — They would lie down under the hot sun and before they died the flies would blow them and the worms could be seen working in the festering bodies.

From the 1st to the 27th of June, it rained almost continually; the nights being quite cold, the men without shelters lying in the mud and rain, suffered terribly.

Among the prisoners were a large number of bounty jumpers who had deserted to the rebels. They banded together and hesitated not to rob, and even to murder their fellow prisoners for the blankets, clothing or money some might have. The bodies of murdered men were found concealed by these desperadoes. At last the prisoners organized a sort of police, for the purpose of hunting these wretches down and putting a stop to their crimes. On the 30th of June the guards and police began the work, and by the close of the following day they had captured 15 of the leaders of the gang. They organized a court, the witnesses and jury being composed of our men. — Those who had only been guilty of stealing, were sentenced to run the gauntlet, while the leaders and more desperate ones who had been concerned in the murders, were sentenced to be hung. The gallows were erected inside of the stockade, and six of the gang were taken out and hung by the prisoners. Most of the convicts were from New York. One of them named Curtiss broke his rope and fell to the ground — he declared he was innocent, and begged hard to be released, but he was lifted upon the scaffold and swung off again.

On the 24th of July they were told by the officers of the guard that they would be allowed to get up a petition, setting forth the horrors of their situation, and asking our Government to permit them to be exchanged. They were promised that it should be forwarded to our Government. They did so, but never knew what disposition was made of it.

The water now became so bad that the men began to dig wells. — In one of these they started a tunnel and dug it out under the stockade, large

enough for two men to go through; but it was discovered and the escape prevented.

On the 26th, two wagons came in loaded with wood. After the wood had been thrown out of the first one, George slyly crept into it and laid down in the large box. The driver, who was riding one of the mules, did not see him and drove out. As they passed through the gate, the watchman happened to be looking another way, and George passed safely out. There were a large number of prisoners at work on the outside cutting and drawing wood, and doing all kinds of work. George slipped quietly out of the wagon, and without looking back started straight for the cook-house, where a number of the prisoners on parole were employed. He escaped detection and passed for one of the workmen. The boys divided their rations with him, and he began to cook up some cakes for use on the journey which he had in contemplation. He had decided to try to find his way to Pensacola, which was occupied by our troops. He thought it would be less difficult than to evade the rebel scouts, who were hovering around, watching Sherman's advance.

George started on the night of the 2d of August, and succeeded in getting through the lines. It had been raining and was a very dark night. — George traveled until about midnight, when he came to a swamp where the water was too deep to cross. He explored in every direction, and found that the swamp extended on three sides of him, and that the only dry land was in the direction that he came in. He waded out into the mud and water, but heard the frogs croaking way ahead and finally concluded to wait until daylight. In the morning he found a road and bridge and crossed over.

He kept in the woods a long time, and at last came to a clearing. He found an old cabin, and near it was a peach tree. He gathered some peaches and went into the deserted cabin to eat them. He soon heard some one at the peach tree, and looking through a crevice saw a negro. The negro came soon and looked into the house and saw him. George thought it was best to make a friend of him, so he called him in. The negro told him that his master was coming along soon with a team. — George told him that he was an escaped prisoner, and begged him not to betray him to his master. He proved true, for when his master came along he met him some distance off and went on with him. — George learned from the negro that he was only *five miles* from Andersonville.

That night he traveled until near daylight, when it began to rain and he

made a bed of leaves and laid down and rested through the day. — He had about three days' rations with him, and found some apples and peaches which made very good fare, compared with prison rations. The next day as he was following an obscure road, he came almost into the streets of a town, before he saw it. He turned towards the nearest woods and managed to elude observation. He waited until night and then started on again. The next morning he came upon some negroes working in the woods. They did not see him, but he stood and watched them, feeling that they were friends. Soon one faithful look[ing] fellow left the rest, and George went up to him and asked him about the roads, direction, &c. He told the negro that he had escaped from the stockade. The negro told him that his master was a Union man. — When the negro came from his dinner he brought George a jug of milk, a large watermelon, some peaches and apples. At night the negroes came and brought him bread and cakes, and seemed anxious to help him all they could.

One day he came across a young negro, and in the course of the conversation he told the negro how the war began, and he seemed highly interested. He went back to where his mother was cooking for the field hands. The old negro woman soon came, bringing a good supply of corn bread and meat, also several negroes with her. They wanted to hear about the war and how George got away. The old woman said "You needn't be afraid the niggas about here'll tell on you, bless your little soul, we is all glad you got away."

On the evening of the 10th of August, George was traveling along and suddenly came upon a rebel soldier who was home on furlough. — He saw by the blue clothes that George was a Yankee. He said he did not expect to have a Yankee to supper that night, but told George to come in and get something to eat. He questioned George about the war, &c., and asked him what he enlisted for. At night he gave him a blanket to sleep on, and he and two negroes sat up to watch George that he did not escape. The woman of the house gave George a quilt.

Soon after, the jailor came, who had been sent for by the rebel soldier, to take charge of George. The jailor took him to his house, and his wife seeing that his coat, pants and shirt were in rags, gave him a shirt and pair of stockings. The jailor then took him in a carriage to the little town of Lumpkinville. On the way he showed his "little Yankee," as he called him, to everyone on the road, and he appeared to be as much of a curiosity as some wild beast. — They stopped at one place where there was a woman and two

girls. The woman seeing his clothes so ragged gave him a coat and pair of pants. The girls got a basket of peaches for him and were all very kind. The old lady said all she asked of him was, "That if he ever met her sons in battle that he would not shoot them."

They stopped at a school house and the jailor called the children to come and see the Yankee. The children could hardly be made to believe that the harmless looking little fellow sitting in the carriage, was a "real live Yankee."

At last they came to the town, and the jailor delivered George to a military man who was there. The people soon learned that there was a Yankee in town, and they began to flock around from every direction. The little boys would stand on the outside of the crowd, out of danger as they thought, and try to get a sight of the terrible Yankee. They were very anxious to know if George was as large as the ordinary Yankee soldiers. The ladies of the town could restrain their curiosity no longer, and sent down to the officer to bring his Yankee up where they could see him. So they went up and George was exhibited to the rebel ladies, who asked him all sorts of questions. They seemed to think George was not a very dangerous looking fellow, if he was a Yankee.

He was then placed in charge of two soldiers who were going to Hood's army. They took him in the stage and arrived at Cuthbert about midnight, when they put him in the lock-up, where he was left with a negro until morning, when he was placed on the cars and sent to Andersonville.

He was here placed in a small stockade used as a guard house, where he was left for two weeks. While here he had plenty to eat, and fared quite well. On the 26th he was taken before the Provost Marshal, who tried to find out who gave him the citizen's clothes which he wore. But George refused to tell, knowing that the woman who gave them to him would be severely punished if found out. He was then taken before the commander of the post who told him he did not know whether it was best to shoot him or put him back in the stockade. George told him he had rather he would shoot him. — He finally concluded to send George to the hospital.

On the 9th of September a number of the prisoners were taken out and started for Savannah. George was among the number. When they arrived at Savannah they were put in the jail over night and the next day were taken to Charleston. When they got there they were herded like so many cattle in some yards near the depot, with guards stationed around them.

In the morning they were taken to the outskirts of the city and guarded on a race track by stationing guards close around them. George being dressed in citizen's clothes, watched his chance, slipped between the guards and walked off without being observed. He had ten cents and a gutta-percha ring, with which he managed to get some bread and sweet potatoes. At night he slept in lumber yards, and wherever he could secrete himself. Getting short of rations, he went down town one day where some buildings were burning, set on fire by shells from our fleet. — He went into a number of houses and helped carry out the goods, keeping a sharp lookout for something to eat. Not finding any provisions in any of the burning buildings, he ventured into one that "looked as though [it] might soon take fire." By searching around he found a loaf of bread, a cheese, some sweet-potatoes and an orange, which he appropriated and left the burning buildings to others more interested in saving rebel property.

One morning after George had passed the night in an old hovel, a man came along and found him there and began to question him about where he lived, &c., thinking at last that he was a deserter from the rebel army. He told George that he would protect him, and invited him to his home. This man, whose name was Hogan, an Irishman, proved to be a Union man. George staid [sic] with Mr. Hogan about ten days and then got work at a livery stable.

On the 6th of October George was attacked with the yellow fever, and was sent to the citizens' hospital. He remained very sick for about three weeks.

After leaving the hospital he was employed by a Mr. Hunt, who kept a warehouse. He sold grain and provisions at the following rates: — Corn, \$27 per bushel; Peas, \$27 per bushel; Flour, \$150 a sack. Beef was selling at from \$4 to \$5 per pound. Four Turnips were sold for one dollar. Good apples, a dollar each. Oranges from one to three dollars each. Potatoes sold for one dollar and a half per quart. Clothing sold at rather high rates: A common wool hat sold for from \$40 to \$50. Shoes, \$150 a pair. Good boots, \$300 a pair. Cotton handkerchief, \$10.

December the 13th, George learned that some of the prisoners were about to be exchanged, and determined to try to get in with them. — When he left in the morning Mr. Hunt gave him ten dollars.

When the prisoners were about being taken out to the fleet to be exchanged, George slipped by the guards and got in among the prisoners,

passed on to the rebel boat and from there was transported with the other prisoners to a boat sent from our fleet to receive them. When the prisoners reached our boat, they were provided with a new suit of clothes, cups, coffee, crackers, meat, and onions. On the morning of the 14th of December they were transferred to a steamer and started for the North. As the steamer with the prisoners passed the monitors, gunboats and transports the soldiers and sailors gave them some tremendous cheers.

On the 16th they arrived at Annapolis, Md. Here the men were taken to a bath house, and after a thorough washing were furnished with new suits throughout, paid two months' wages, and in addition were paid for the rations they should have had while starving in the rebel prison. The men then received furloughs for thirty days and left for their various homes.

George arrived at his home in Fort Dodge on the 31st of December, after passing safely through sufferings such as thousands of stout men died under. His parents had not heard a word from him from the time he was captured until he arrived at Annapolis, when he sent a short letter, announcing his safe return. George leaves for the army again in a few days, to serve out the remainder of his term of enlistment.

HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

State Historical Society of Iowa

The Society recently acquired forty bound volumes of the Hampton *Franklin County Recorder* from the Hampton Public Library. These volumes cover the years 1895 to 1935, and will be a valuable addition to the newspaper collection of the Society. Our collection of Indian relics has been enriched by the valuable collection of the late Dr. Charles R. Keyes, well-known Iowa archaeologist. Two valuable additions have been made to the Society's manuscript collection within recent months. Mr. Kuno Doerr, attorney of South Pasadena, California, has turned over to us a valuable Civil War diary, the property of the late Bertha Embree Dodds, formerly of Iowa. The journal was kept by C. F. Boyd of Company G, Fifteenth Iowa Infantry, and covers the years 1861 through 1863. In addition, the Rev. Claude N. McMillan, formerly of Primghar, has turned over to the Society his correspondence and papers. Rev. McMillan was long active in the Anti-Saloon League, and his papers will throw new light on that movement in the twentieth century.

Dr. Frederick I. Kuhns, research assistant of the Society, addressed the Hardin County Old Settlers' annual picnic at Eldora, August 19, 1951.

Dr. Kenneth F. Millsap, research assistant of the Society, spoke to the Bentonsport Homecoming on August 18, 1951, on the pioneer settlements of Van Buren County and southeastern Iowa.

SUPERINTENDENT'S CALENDAR

- | | |
|--------------|---|
| August 5 | Speech at Bells Mill Park in Hamilton County. |
| August 28 | Address before Teachers of Dubuque. |
| September 12 | Attended meeting of the Herbert Hoover Birthplace Society, West Branch. |
| September 17 | Addressed Adult Education School at Marengo. |

The following members were elected to membership in the State Historical Society during the months of June, July, August, and September:

Ackley

Kenneth Severson

Algona

Miss Esther C. Quimby

Amana

Carl F. Christen
Louis Hess

Ames

F. E. Brown
Mrs. Mildred K. Wellman

Ainsworth

Lee Norris

Ashton

Peter H. Bangert
Richard W. Bangert

Audubon

L. Dee Mallonee

Avoca

Frank P. Brennan

Beaman

Mrs. H. E. Neff
Arthur V. Perry

Bedford

Kirk R. Nicholson

Bellevue

Miss Mariela Kegler
Mrs. Charles L. Veach

Bettendorf

Walter O. Friedholdt

Birmingham

Mrs. T. R. Anderson

Boone

Miss Alice E. Sperring

Britt

Harold R. Christenson

Bryant

Erwin Schoening

Burlington

Lloyd W. Maffitt
Paul A. Millspough

Cedar Rapids

G. F. DeMarrais
Dr. Morgan J. Foster
Dr. Kenneth E. Heck
Guy D. Kinsley
A. E. Lindquist, Jr.
Benno Von Mayrhauser
Robert W. Neff
Marvin R. Selden
Miss Charlene Uchytel

Cedar Falls

Miss Marie Obe
Marion H. Renz
Mrs. John R. Voorhees

Centerville

M. P. Vredenburg

Central City

Dr. Richard L. Houmes

Cherokee

Don R. Hankens
Dr. Don C. Koser
Sanford Museum

Clarinda

Miss Harriett Davidson
Robert F. Hawley
Mrs. Irene B. Hawthorne
Wm. C. Hemphill
Miss Mabel Searl

Clear Lake

E. M. Dusenberg
T. L. Sears

Clermont

J. A. Erickson
E. W. Hilgemann
Mrs. Grace Simek

Clinton

Mrs. Frank P. Bennett

- Edwin Dierks
Mrs. Helen K. Meyer
C. E. Moffitt
- Coin*
Lloyd M. Moe
- Colfax*
George M. Brenner
- Council Bluffs*
Miss Dorothy E. Christensen
Dr. R. J. Lash
- Crawfordsville*
Orrin H. Johnson
Harold Miller
- Cresco*
Dr. Paul M. Haight
- Creston*
John C. Elliott
- Davenport*
Oscar A. Anderson
Henry W. Clere
J. H. Copeland
Bob Feeney
Theodore C. Hodges
Rev. Frank Johnston
N. B. Lane
Ronald F. Lorenzen
D. Grant McManus
S. J. Smith
Robert A. Warren
Harold J. Williams
- Decorah*
Chellis Evanson
- Des Moines*
Brook Berger
David Bowen
Ben C. Buckingham
- Robert H. Bush
Daniel J. Carmichael
Mrs. Robert E. Chesebrough
Mrs. K. L. Chippis
John K. Galloway
Mrs. O. E. Gilcrest
John Hawkinson
Dr. Ralph H. Heeren
C. L. Henschel
Frederick B. Herbert
Miss Dorothy Marie Horn
Harry D. Linn
Mrs. Joseph F. Longo
Dr. C. B. Luginbuhl
R. L. McCaffrey
Miss Marjorie L. McCoy
Charles F. Martin
Miss Elsie F. Mason
Dr. L. K. Meredith
Wendell Moats
Dr. Leonard C. Murray
Maurice M. O'Connor
Dr. William M. Sproul
Clyde Spry
Miss June Steinbrenner
Mrs. Eileen H. Stratton
Mrs. G. H. Sutton
James C. Sutton
Albert Wallin
M. C. Waterman
- Dexter*
Ray P. Cook
- Dunlap*
Terence A. Lonam
- Dysart*
Elmer C. Gast
Edward E. Wieben

Eldora

Mrs. W. H. Longenecker

Epworth

Miss Enid Miller

Fairfield

Bill S. Foshier

Farragut

Miss Fern Anderson

Fonda

Amos Eaton

Fort Dodge

Miss Veranice Challberg

Mrs. Everett T. Martin

Francis E. Tierney

Garnavillo

Mrs. Ruth Kregel

Garner

Emery M. Brown

Goose Lake

Jerry Dierks

Gowrie

C. F. Dixon

A. E. Lindquist

Grinnell

L. G. Keeney

Louis V. Phelps

Grundy Center

W. L. Mooty

Guthrie Center

Mrs. Gardie Morton

Guttenberg

Dr. C. R. Goddard

Henderson

Mrs. W. L. Fickel

Huxley

Huxley Cons. School

Independence

Geo. H. Jones

Iowa City

Jack W. Barrows

Rev. Leonard J. Brugman

Mrs. Hazel G. Carlstrom

Miss Jane Condon

Harlan W. DeGooyer

V. J. Grandrath

Emory L. Kelley

John M. McCollister

Mrs. Lorna L. Mathes

A. K. Miller

Mrs. L. R. Morford

Mrs. C. B. Righter

Walter C. Schwank

Mrs. J. E. Switzer

John R. Ward

Lawrence A. Ware

Mrs. Mary Wharton

F. B. Whinery

Jesup

Vine Stoddard

Kalona

John C. Helmuth

Dan B. Miller

Jake J. Miller

Sol C. Ropp

Tobie Stutzman

Ben J. Yoder

Keokuk

E. C. McPherson

Station KOKX

Latimer

Frank Behnke

Laurens

Mrs. Francis Hakes

Mrs. Henrietta Hawley

Letts

Ernst Lieberknecht

Lime Springs

Mrs. Glen Jones

Lisbon

Charles S. Campbell

Lone Tree

Mrs. A. E. Baumer

H. C. Buell

Mrs. Glenn G. Johnston

Mrs. Clayton C. Petsel

Mrs. Remda J. Rossman

Mrs. Harry Reiss

Lloyd H. Young

McGregor

Mrs. Margery Goergen

Charles J. Hahn

Miss Genevieve F. Hohman

Miss Dorothy K. Huebsch

William J. Kennedy

Wilfred D. Logan

Charles I. Yount

Malvern

Woodford R. Byinton

Manchester

Stanley G. Klaus

Miss Gertrude B. Long

Mrs. William J. A. Maxfield

Marengo

Wilbur Bowen

Marion

F. T. Plummer

Marshalltown

S. A. Dickerson

Dr. Royal F. French

Willard F. Johnson

Mason City

R. L. Bailey

N. Levinson

Middle

William C. Heinze

Mingo

Mingo Consolidated School

Mitchellville

Mrs. J. E. Webb

Monona

Mrs. F. J. Peglow

Moravia

U. G. Turner

Morning Sun

Herbert B. Schwaller

Mt. Pleasant

George A. Johnson

Harold F. McLeran

Mrs. Helen Virden

Mt. Vernon

Mrs. Charles R. Keyes

Miss Joyce Koym

Miss Mary J. Lange-Luttig

Miss Dorothy Marcue

Muscatine

Mrs. Marie Hahn Baker

George R. Chase

Merele C. Henderson

New Providence

Edward C. Jones

Mrs. W. R. Reese

Newton

Mrs. Roy Garrett

Dr. Lloyd H. Koelling

Edgar Sersland
John R. Singer
North English
W. Wayne Fancher
Olds
O. C. Hannum
Orange City
Orange City Public School
Osceola
Miss Ada M. Tillotson
Oskaloosa
Independent School Dist.
Ottumwa
W. Sinclair Venables
Miss Maxine E. Workman
Oxford
Donald C. Regan
Sylvan M. Yoder
Panora
Miss Elizabeth S. Hudson
Parkersburg
Duane E. Lodge
Paton
Paton Cons. School
Postville
Mrs. William Leui
Red Oak
Miss Helen Murphy
Thomas C. Murphy
Thomas D. Murphy, Jr.
Mrs. Charles A. Reese
Riceville
Mrs. Nina Bodenham
Rock Rapids
Mrs. Harry Garf

Rockwell City
Miss Julia E. McClure
Paul W. Van Metre
Sibley
Mrs. Harry R. Osterman
Sidney
Mrs. Earl E. Cowden
Sigourney
Frank M. Beatty
Sioux City
C. B. Chesterman
William Murray
Mrs. Loyd Tinkle
Stanhope
Mrs. L. Q. Dick
Stratford
Asa Cottington
Strawberry Point
Arthur B. Hawkins
Stuart
Ernest A. Smith
Sumner
Mrs. Earl Lease
Thompson
Mrs. Mildred Ellefson
Thornburg
Clifton B. Davis
Tipton
John M. Powell
Traer
Mrs. Sevena Morrison
Vinton
Don Boddicker
Miss Leta Mae Donels
Dr. Chas. A. Manahan
Mrs. Ashley R. Richardson

Wapello

Mrs. Jack D. Thomas

Washington

W. Foster Bickel

S. W. Kaster

Miss Edna M. McCarty

George L. McDaniel

Richard A. Stewart

Keith L. Vetter

Waterloo

Miss Edrie V. Adams

Harry W. Carter

Mrs. Margaret Ferring

Ralph J. McElroy

Fred E. Miller

Tom Myers

Dr. Edward L. Rohlf

Mrs. Charles N. Shane

Ralph B. Slippy

Mrs. W. O. Tannreuther

Francis C. Veach

Waucoma

J. C. Webster

Waukon

Mrs. Christen H. Megorden

Webster City

Arthur G. Halvorsen

Murray McMurray

Ralph Tucker

West Bend

West Bend High School

West Liberty

Mrs. Lee H. Forsyth

Whitten

Mrs. L. L. Long

Williamsburg

Miss Lillian S. Kelting

Wilton Junction

E. D. Hinkhouse

Woodbine

Mrs. Lucy M. Conrad

Wyman

Wyman Cons. School

*California*Herbert S. Chesebrough,
Pasadena*Illinois*

R. B. Archibald, Moline

C. B. & Q. R. R. Co., Chicago

Mrs. Florence C. Weed, Wilmette

Missouri

John Blackmore, Independence

Ohio

D. W. Garber, Bellville

R. H. McDonald, Lima

Oklahoma

Mrs. Elsie E. Richards, Blackwell

*New York*Huntington Free Library,
New York*Wisconsin*

Walter Bubbert, Milwaukee

Iowa Historical Activities

At the annual meeting of the Ringgold County Historical Society, held at Diagonal on August 17, 1951, Miss Eva F. Stahl was elected president; Arthur Palmer, vice-president; Miss Myrta Abigail Shannon, secretary;

Mrs. Floyd Reed Bliss, treasurer; and Earl T. Hoover, custodian of property.

The Adair County Historical Society held their annual picnic at Greenfield on June 10, 1951. Mrs. O. W. C. Brown was elected president; Mrs. Nellie Piper, vice-president; and E. E. Johnson, secretary.

The Wyoming Historical Society of Jones County was organized in 1925, "for the preservation of the early history" of the town of Wyoming. The 1951 annual meeting was held on August 20, and the following officers retained in office: Mrs. Thomas Broderson, president; Pauline Bramer, Elsie Bender, and Irene Brownell, vice-presidents; Dora Thomsen, corresponding secretary; Mrs. Jessie Koch, recording secretary; and Mrs. Ralph Orth, treasurer.

Two valuable archaeological collections have been presented to the Effigy Mounds National Monument and will be displayed in the future museum there. The library and the Indian artifacts of the late Dr. Ellison Orr, together with a collection of Indian relics collected by the late Asbjorn Olsen of McGregor, constitute a valuable foundation for this museum. Wilfred D. Logan has recently been appointed archaeologist for the Monument.

The new library at the State University of Iowa is completing arrangement and display of its many valuable collections. The Bollinger Lincoln library, valued at some \$50,000, is being arranged in a room similar to the one it occupied in the home of the late Judge James W. Bollinger, who willed the collection to the University. Other rare book collections are those of Harvey Ingham's Indian books; the Leigh Hunt collection of first editions and manuscripts; and the Iowa authors' section, where the original manuscripts of books by Iowans are on file. Another collection of interest is a large group of the original cartoons of J. N. (Ding) Darling, Iowa's famous cartoonist of the *Des Moines Register*.

Grinnell is making progress in the establishment of a museum to preserve the early memories of the town and college. Temporary rooms have been provided for the display of the various objects already collected. The project was inaugurated in 1950, under the sponsorship of the Tuesday Club; since then the Historical and Literary Club and two local D. A. R. chapters have joined in the work. The museum now has a collection of about 250 articles dating back to the early history of Grinnell. Representative Karl M.

Le Compte has presented the museum with two pieces of stone from the White House suitable for use as bookends.

The Illinois Central Railroad, as part of its centennial year activity, is erecting markers in all the communities through which it operates. On July 27, 1951, a boulder was dedicated at the station in Iowa Falls.

Numerous centennial celebrations have marked the year 1951 in Iowa. Hesper, in Winneshiek County, observed its 100th anniversary on June 15-16; Corydon, county seat of Wayne County, celebrated on August 10-11; Carlisle, in Warren County, on July 1-4; Panora, in Guthrie County, on July 8-9; Osceola, in Clarke County, on August 6-9; and West Branch, famous as the birthplace of Herbert Hoover, on July 12-15. Sandyville in Warren County was also founded in 1851.

Other Historical Activities

During the summer of 1951, Marvin F. Kivett, Director of the Museum of the Nebraska State Historical Society, conducted archaeological excavations at the site of the Fort Randall Reservoir in Nebraska. The excavations, which have produced many interesting Indian artifacts and have added much to the knowledge of the prehistoric Indians of Nebraska, were carried on in co-operation with the National Park Service, the Smithsonian Institution, and the United States Army Corps of Engineers.

Plans have been drawn and awards let for the construction of a new building for the Nebraska State Historical Society, at a cost of about \$500,000. Construction will begin in the fall of 1951.

Plans are being made at Madison, Wisconsin, for a teaching museum of Wisconsin rural life, to be sponsored jointly by the College of Agriculture of the University and the Wisconsin Historical Society.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin has been given a special award of merit by the American Association for State and Local History, for conducting, during the year 1950-1951, "the most significant program in proportion to its resources" of any historical society in the United States. The award was made on the basis of a poll of state historical societies. The Wisconsin activities particularly noted, in giving the award, were the establishing of the American History Research Center, the organization of a Woman's Auxiliary, the opening of a guide to business records, the estab-

lishment of regional depositories in various parts of the state, the holding of the first annual contest on Wisconsin documentary photographs, and the sponsorship of the first annual Institute for Local History. The award will be formally presented on January 26, 1952. Second and third honors went to the Missouri and Texas historical societies, respectively.

The Kansas State Historical Society has announced the resignation of Kirke Mechem, secretary of the Society for twenty-one years. Nyle Miller, who has been with the Society for twenty years and for the past two years has been assistant secretary, was nominated for the post left vacant by Mr. Mechem's resignation.

HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

Book Notes

Reunion and Reaction: The Compromise of 1877 and the End of Reconstruction. By C. Vann Woodward. (Boston: Little, Brown & Co. \$4.00.) Iowans tend to think of Grenville M. Dodge as "the man who built the Union Pacific." His Civil War title of "General" is also cited as evidence of other distinctions. However, his political activities have been long neglected. In *Reunion and Reaction*, Professor Woodward, while telling the story of the Hayes-Tilden disputed presidential election of 1876 — and the "Compromise" which resolved that contest — has placed Dodge, among many others, in his true light as an astute and often unscrupulous politician. Dodge was only one of the many railroad men who manipulated this amazing compromise — whereby Southerners acquiesced in the election of Republican Hayes over Democrat Tilden, as the price for the end of Reconstruction and the building of a railroad. The author points out that the story of this "deal" was well known at the time; the newspapers of 1877 made no secret of the activities of railroad interests — and railroad money — behind the scenes in Washington. History has since accepted a half-truth, that the compromise was an agreement between Northerners and Southerners for the control of the governments of Louisiana and South Carolina. Proving that it was much more than this is the task Dr. Woodward has set himself, and he has produced an outstanding "revisionist" work in nineteenth century political history, a work which has received unstinted praise from reviewers.

Empire in Pine: The Story of Lumbering in Wisconsin, 1830-1900. By Robert F. Fries. (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1951. \$4.00.) The story of American lumbering is one of romance, politics, and wealth. Dr. Fries's study of Wisconsin lumbering contains all these elements, and much more. Based on exhaustive research in the manuscript collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, in newspapers, and in secondary works, the volume is of great merit. For this work, the author was awarded the Society's David Clark Everest Prize in Wisconsin Economic History. Every phase and feature of lumbering enters into the study — the

geography of Wisconsin, which predetermined her economic growth; the work of taking out the trees, floating or rafting or railroading the logs to mill; the milling and marketing of the lumber; problems of management and the growth of monopoly; land problems and conservation efforts; and, finally, the social and political influences of both the lumber barons and the lumberjacks. The book is beautifully bound and printed; the illustrations are many and varied; and the endsheet maps are both attractive and useful. The Wisconsin Society and Dr. Fries are to be congratulated on the production of a valuable contribution to economic history.

Old Indiana and the New World. . . . By Elmer Davis. (Washington: Library of Congress, 1951. \$2.25.) The Library of Congress has published, in a beautiful little 14-page book, a spritely and reminiscent address on "Old Indiana" by Elmer Davis. The address was given November 30, 1950, at the opening of a special exhibition, at the Library of Congress, which commemorated the territory of Indiana. Combining wit and deep insight into the past and present of Indiana, Mr. Davis has in these few pages given a capsule history of a great state and its "first-rate second-rate" men, as he calls them. Copies may be obtained from the Superintendent of Documents, Washington 25, D. C.

Articles

Elmer Ellis' presidential address to the Mississippi Valley Historical Association meeting at Cincinnati in April, 1951, was published in the June, 1951, issue of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*. In "The Profession of Historian" Dr. Ellis discusses graduate training in history and the opportunities available in that field. In the same issue of the *Review* there are the following articles: "The Passage to the Colonies," by John Duffy; "Calhoun's Bid for the Presidency, 1841-1844," by Matthew A. Fitzsimons; and "The United States Christian Commission," by M. Hamlin Cannon.

American Heritage, Summer, 1951, is largely devoted to articles on Detroit, as part of that city's 250th anniversary. The eight articles on Detroit were contributed by Howard H. Peckham, Raymond C. Miller, Victor Reuther, Goldwin Smith, Sidney Glazer, C. J. Wickwire, Henry D. Brown, and Alfred Stern. Among other articles in the same issue are: "The Conestoga Wagon," by Norman B. Wilkinson; "My Name is Charles Guiteau," by Thomas D. Clark; "New Castle on Delaware," by Anthony

Higgins; and "Cradle of Industry, U. S. A. [Saugus, Massachusetts]," by Robert West Howard.

Two articles of general interest in the January, 1951, *Agricultural History* are: "The Land Mortgage Company in the Early Plains States," by Allan G. Bogue; and "The Referendum Process in the Agricultural Adjustment Programs of the United States," by Robert E. Martin.

The July, 1951, issue of *The Alabama Review* contains an article by Avery Craven which is well worth careful reading and study. In "The South and the Democratic Process" Dr. Craven has discussed the breakdown of the two-party system in America, which led to and largely caused the Civil War. The conflict, he points out, resulted in part from a breakdown in the American spirit of compromise. "The significant fact to citizens of a democracy," writes Craven, "is that each side in the tragic struggle turned to one of the fundamental American documents to justify its position and the course it had taken"—the South to the Constitution, the North to the Declaration of Independence. The author's discussion of the differing points of view and aims of these two basic American documents is illuminating. His conclusion is that, "while the two-party democratic process in America works quite satisfactorily in dealing with most problems in a land of sections, it breaks down as issues involving morals or the basic structure of society arise. . . . That is the dilemma of democracy."

S. K. Stevens, state historian of Pennsylvania, addressed the annual meeting of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, in April, 1951, on the subject, "Local History—Foundation of our Faith in Democracy." This address is published in the July, 1951, issue of the *Quarterly* of the Ohio Society. Mr. Stevens makes a strong plea for a larger and broader study of history at the local level, not forgetting the national implications of these local studies, in order to bring to the people themselves a broader understanding of American democracy. He feels that such an increased study will strengthen the American way of life in the present-day world struggle of Democracy versus Communism.

The June, 1951, issue of *Michigan History* is devoted to Detroit, in commemoration of that city's 250th anniversary. The articles, touching many phases of Detroit's history, were contributed by M. Mansfield Stimson, Elleine H. Stone, Milo M. Quaife, Sidney Glazer, William M. Trevarrow, Henry D. Brown, and Alice L. Sickels.

Articles in the Summer, 1951, *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* include: "Lincoln Rebukes a Senator [Orville Hickman Brown- ing]," by Harlan Hoyt Horner; "Yankee Land Agent in Illinois [Cyrus Woodman]," by Larry Gara; and "The Pikes Peak Gold Rush," by Wayne C. Temple.

Number XIII of Robert Taft's "Pictorial Record of the Old West" appeared in the August, 1951, issue of *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*. Emory Lindquist's article, "The Swedes in Kansas Before the Civil War," also appeared in the *Quarterly*, while two documents complete the issue: "A British Bride in Manhattan, 1889-1891: The Journal of Mrs. Stuart James Hogg," edited by Louise Barry; and "The Letters of Joseph H. Trego, 1857-1864, Linn County Pioneer: Part Two, 1861, 1862," edited by Edgar Langsdorf.

The following articles appeared in the September, 1951, *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*: "Wilson's Peace Program and German Socialism, January-March 1918," by John L. Snell; "William A. Hirth: Middle Western Agrarian," by Theodore Saloutos; "The Monroe Doctrine — A Stopgap Measure," by Gale W. McGee; and "The Socialist Party Before the First World War: An Analysis," by David A. Shannon.

The Summer, 1951, issue of *Wisconsin Magazine of History* contains an article by Alice E. Smith on "James Duane Doty: Mephistopheles in Wisconsin," which gives a summary of the turbulent career of Wisconsin's second territorial governor. Walter A. Olen contributed a brief article on Eben E. Rexford, author of the well-known song, "Silver Threads among the Gold," and Grace Norton Kieckhefer discusses the history of Milwaukee-Downer College in Milwaukee. A fourth article is "John V. Robbins, Pioneer Agriculturist," by Charles L. Hill.

Iowa

An 1899 letter by one of the founders of the *Osceola Courier*, predecessor of the *Sentinel*, was published in the August 2, 1951, *Osceola Sentinel*. The letter, written by T. R. Oldham, recalls the problems of starting a small-town newspaper in 1859.

In the 1890's one of the lively features of entertainment in Iowa was the traveling medicine show. Charles Duble, a "veteran circus and minstrel

musician," has written an account of these early shows for the August 13, 1951, *Grinnell Herald-Register*. The parade, the tent show, and then the "Doctor's spiel" are described, and a colorful story told of "Yellowstone Kit," the renowned Indian fighter, scout, and medicine man."

Hopeville, in Clarke County, was originally founded as a communistic community. A short history of the town, together with an illustration of an 1851 plat recently found in the archives at the courthouse, appeared in the August 2, 1951, *Osceola Sentinel*.

A brief history of Rochester, in Cedar County, appeared in the July 15, 1951, *Waterloo Courier*. Rochester, founded 115 years ago, is "a little tolerant of the 'upstart' communities who are holding centennial celebrations this year." It was three miles northwest of Rochester, at the home of William Maxon, that John Brown spent the winter of 1857-1858, recruiting men for his famous Harper's Ferry raid.

The following accounts of 1951 church anniversaries have been published recently:

West Union *Union*, June 28 — Clermont Lutheran Church—founded 1851
Eagle Grove *Eagle*, June 28 — Lake Evangelical Church—founded 1891
Ottumwa *Courier*, June 28 — Pleasant Plain Friends Church — founded 1841

Marengo *Pioneer-Republican*, July 5 — Church of the New Jerusalem, Lenox Township — founded 1851

Cedar Rapids *Gazette*, July 8 — Norwegian Lutheran congregations west of the Mississippi — founded 1851

Grinnell *Herald-Register*, July 30 — Lynn Grove Friends — founded 1851
Albia *Republican*, August 9 — St. Patrick's Church, Georgetown — founded 1851

Cresco *Times*, August 29 — Madison Lutheran Church — founded 1851
Ottumwa *Courier*, August 29 — Sharon Presbyterian Church, Lee County — founded 1851

Clarinda *Journal-Herald*, August 30 — St. John's Lutheran Church, Essex — founded 1876

Red Oak *Express*, August 30 — Fremont Mission Covenant Church — founded 1876

Dubuque *Telegraph-Herald*, September 2 — Waukon St. Patrick's Church
—founded 1851

When the Mormons beat a path across southern Iowa in 1846, heading for the "Promised Land," they left many reminders of their passing. Some of these places have since grown into well-established towns; others have disappeared. The only reminder of the important way-station of Mount Pisgah in Union County is an old Mormon cemetery. The story of this settlement is told in the August 21, 1951, *Davenport Democrat* and in the August 23, 1951, *Marshalltown Times-Republican*.

On March 3, 1946, the "only glove knitting mill west of the Mississippi" was opened at Osage by Urban Marr. The story of this new venture is told in the August 23, 1951, *Osage Press*, in a reprint of an account prepared by the Iowa Development Commission. Another item, contributing to the knowledge of Iowa's industrial growth, is an account of the world's largest feather duster factory in Monticello—the Hoag Duster Company—which appeared in the August 23, 1951, *Bloomfield Democrat*.

Martin Geiss of Cedar Rapids remembers the days of the street cars. He began work on them 64 years ago when the Cedar Rapids and Marion steam railway operated first horse cars and then electric cars on the Cedar Rapids streets. John Reynolds has told Mr. Geiss's story in the July 29, 1951, *Cedar Rapids Gazette*, a story illustrated with interesting old pictures of the steam railway, the horse car, and the "modern" electric car. Buses took over the business of transporting passengers in 1937.

Scattered throughout Iowa are many old houses which recall the days of the past. One of these interesting buildings is a two-story stone house, on Highway 62, just north of Andrew in Jackson County. Originally built in 1852, the house, which at one time had 30 rooms, was known as the Butterworth Inn. One large room on the second floor was once the scene of dances and weddings. Nathaniel Butterworth built his inn with walls three feet thick, on a framework of hand-hewn oak. The story of the old inn, now occupied by the Craig Ripple family, is told in the June 29, 1951, *Maquoketa Sentinel*.

Ocheyedan Mound, in Osceola County, is the highest point in Iowa. A description of the mound is given in the July 5, 1951, *Emmetsburg Democrat*.

A musical history of Independence was compiled by George Jones for a talk given to the Rotary Club at that town. Because of its unusual interest, the talk was published in the July 3, 1951, *Independence Conservative*.

County Line, once a thriving settlement in Jefferson County, has now all but disappeared. A prosperous livestock shipping center in the 1870's, with the arrival of the Chicago and Southwestern Railroad, County Line began to decline when truck transportation replaced railroad shipping. An account of this town, together with pictures and a map, appeared in the June 19, 1951, *Ottumwa Courier*, and was prepared by Alice Conner Harness.

A history of the town of Stockport in Van Buren County appeared in the July 7, 1951, *Burlington Hawkeye-Gazette*.

The July, 1951, *Annals of Iowa* is largely devoted to a report by Emory H. English on the 31st biennial meeting of the Pioneer Lawmakers Association of Iowa, which met in Des Moines in March, 1951. Included in the article are several valuable addresses made at the meeting, addresses reminiscent of earlier days in Iowa politics. The same issue of the *Annals* contains an article by Earle D. Ross on "Farm Tenancy in Iowa"; an account of "The Country Teacher" by Rosa Schreurs Jennings; and "Immigrants Trying Experiences," by N. Tjernagel.

St. Mary's Parish at Guttenberg, in commemoration of its centennial, has published an attractive booklet entitled "A Century, 1851-1951," edited by Jerome J. Tujetsch and Clifford C. Frommelt.

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